In May 2024, we commemorated the 20th anniversary of Slovakia's entry into the EU. Migration has become one of the key topics that the EU has dealt with since its inception. Since 2004, EU member states have experienced several large waves of migration. The first of them took the form of labor migration to old member countries and the arrival of migrants from third countries. Another surge in migrants in 2015 and 2016 was linked to the arrival of more than a million refugees fleeing war and persecution. The third wave was the massive exodus of the Ukrainian population after the invasion of the Russian army into this country. The main goal of the presented monograph is to show the development of the migration situation over the last 20 years in Slovakia, as well as the way in which migration is presented and communicated in the media and political debate, the way it is reflected in the attitudes of the population.

www.umktke.sk

UNIVERZITA KONŠTANTÍNA FILOZOFA V NITRE

FILOZOFICKÁ FAKULTA
UKF v Nitre

ŪMKTKE
ÚSTAV MANAŽMENTU KULTÚRY A TURIZMU
KULTUROLÓGIE A ETNOLÓGIE

MIGRATION AND SLOVAKIA IN THE YEARS 2004 TO 2024 (ATTITUDES, MEDIA, POLITICS)

MIGRATION AND SLOVAKIA IN THE YEARS 2004 TO 2024 (ATTITUDES, MEDIA, POLITICS)

Silvia Letavajová
Andrea Chlebcová Hečková
Svetozár Krno

MIGRATION AND SLOVAKIA IN THE YEARS 2004 TO 2024 (Attitudes, Media, Politics)

MIGRATION AND SLOVAKIA IN THE YEARS 2004 TO 2024 (Attitudes, Media, Politics)

Silvia Letavajová
Andrea Chlebcová Hečková
Svetozár Krno

Authors:

doc. Mgr. SILVIA LETAVAJOVÁ, PhD.

Mgr. ANDREA CHLEBCOVÁ, HEČKOVÁ, PhD.

prof. PhDr. SVETOZÁR KRNO, CSc.

Obsah

1 INTRODUCTION

Migration belongs to the main topics that the European Union has been dealing with since its inception. It requires multiple approaches, it mainly includes the management of internal migration, the management of migration at the external borders of the European Union, the common asylum system or the integration of migrants. In 2004, 10 new states joined the European Union, including Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Poland and Hungary. This biggest enlargement in history brought extensive political, economic and social changes, but also new challenges that the European Union had to deal with. The entry of new member states also significantly influenced migration trends in the European Union. It meant a general increase of migration. It was related to free movement within the European Union, the opening of labour markets in older member states for citizens of new member states, but also the arrival of migrants from third countries who came to the European Union through new member states. Traditional migration flows have changed, new migration routes have opened, several traditionally emigrating countries, including Slovakia, have gradually become destination countries for migrants.

Since 2004, the European Union has experienced several large migration waves. The first one was related to the entry of 10 new countries and mainly took the form of moving for work to the old member states. Better work and higher pay were the main motives. Migration from Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and the Baltic States was particularly significant. Out of fear of mass migration from new member states, some states (for example, Germany, Austria) have introduced temporary restrictions on the free movement of workers. The last restrictions ceased to apply in 2014, migration from new to old member states of the European Union gradually decreased and stabilized and it has become a common part of European integration.

Another sharp increase in the number of migrants occurred between 2011 and 2016, when the population fleeing from war and persecution arrived en masse in the European Union states. In 2015 in particular, Europe faced a serious humanitarian challenge in the form of the arrival of more than a million migrants. In the context of the refugee issue, this meant an almost 4-fold increase compared to the previous year. This period has been referred to as the "European migration crisis" due to its scale and scope. Immigrants most often came from the Middle East and North Africa, from countries such as Syria, Afghanistan, Eritrea and Nigeria. The vast majority of them went to Germany, also to Hungary and Sweden. Slovakia was only slightly affected by the actual arrival of migrants. In 2015 and 2016, Slovak authorities registered even fewer asylum applications than in previous years. It means that the refugees perceived Slovakia mainly as a transit country (MÚ MV SR, 2016). Despite this, the issue of migration stirred up the

level of public debate in Slovakia very significantly. This topic polarized society, both in lay and professional public, political and media discourses.

The last wave of migration was caused by the invasion of the Russian army into Ukraine and the war conflict that has been ongoing there since February 2022. The massive exodus of the Ukrainian population, also referred to as the fastest growing refugee crisis in Europe since World War II, has affected many European countries. In the initial period, Ukrainians sought refuge mainly in neighbouring countries, including Slovakia. Currently, most Ukrainian refugees are registered in Germany (more than 1 million), Poland and the Czech Republic (Európska rada, 2023). About 100,000 Ukrainians fled to Slovakia (PPZ ÚHaCP, 2023).

The European Union responded to the natural development of the migration situation, but also to breakthroug situations, with several legislative amendments and measures. Building a common migration policy, including coordinating the integration of migrants, was the key one. One specific example is the activation of the Temporary Protection Directive in March 2022, which was created in response to the situation in Ukraine. Currently, temporary protection is extended until March 2025. By January 2024, a total of 4.2 million refugees from Ukraine have used it (Európska rada, 2024). In the area of migration, the European Commission established funding that is implemented through several programs (e.g. European Integration Fund, European Refugee Fund), developed the infrastructure of organizations (e.g. Migration Group Policy) and a network aimed at gathering information about migrations (European Migration Network). Shortly after joining the European Union (2005), Slovakia adopted the first "Concept of Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic" in 2005. Currently, its third version is valid under the title "Migračná politika Slovenskej republiky s výhľadom do roku 2025" (Bargerová, 2023, pp. 6162; Marczyová, 2018, p. 121).

In May 2024, we commemorated the 20th anniversary of Slovakia's entry into the European Union. The presented scientific monograph is devoted to the issue of migration, which Slovakia, as a member of the European Union, has been dealing with since 2004. The work is based on the publication from 2020 entitled "Novodobá migrácia vo verejnej, mediálnej a politickej diskusii", which was primarily devoted to the issue of the "European migration crisis" in 2015 and 2016. Our monograph revises, updates and supplements these texts with information in the area of migration from 2004 to the present (2024). It evaluates the situation before the "migration crisis", deals with topics that have happened and are happening in recent years. The publication is published as a scientific output of the APVV-23-0358 project entitled "Labour Migration from Romania, Serbia and Ukraine to Slovakia and its Cultural and Social Consequences".

Its main goal is to point out the development of the migration situation over the last 20 years, as well as the way in which migration is presented and communicated in the media and political debate, how the attitudes of the people of Slovakia are developing in relation to this topic. The monograph presents findings on how and in what forms the topic is handled in these environments. It points to the impact that the media and political portrayal of the topic has on public opinion, on the use or abuse of the topic. The second level of research focuses on how migration is perceived by the public itself.

The work is formally divided into four parts, which follow each other thematically. The monograph is presented in the article entitled "The Development of migration situation between the years 2004 to 2024 and the characteristic of foreigners in Slovakia". It is understood as a theoretical and contextual framework and a starting point for the following sub-themes. It provides an interpretation of central concepts, traces the migration history of Slovakia, focuses on individual types of migration, such as labour migration, study migration, asylum and illegal migration. Within the structure, the work continues with a chapter that follows the portrayal of the topic of migrants in the media. It characterizes the basic features of reporting on migrants, illustrates the media image of migrants using the example of the "European migration crisis", observes migration in the media as a political topic. Subsequently, it analyzes the textual and visual presentations of migration in serious, tabloid and hate speech media, and deals with the issue of migrant integration through the media. The next text deals with political aspects of migration in Slovakia. In the introductory part, it tries to explain the very creation of a simplified polarized view of the world and the problem of racism, it notes the increase in mass migration and its capture by European structures, the reflection of these events in the public opinion of the Slovak Republic. It is particularly devoted to the reflection of this topic among political parties in Slovakia. In the final chapter, the monograph analyzes the attitudes of the Slovak population towards migrants and migrations. This phenomenon is observed in the context of research carried out at the international, national or local level. We use the analysis of Eurobarometer data, the findings of renowned scientific institutions, but above all our own research in the field of attitudes towards foreigners and migrants. We particularly focus on the attitudes of young people, especially university students, among whom we conducted in-depth research.

The publication presents several partial and perspective outputs. The first of them is an analysis of the development and a description of the current state of the migration situation in Slovakia. In terms of time, we mainly focus on the last 20 years, we follow not only the forms but also the factors that determined the migration situation in Europe and Slovakia. It tries to reveal how the topic of migration is used and presented in the media environment and political discussion, what are the forms and models of forming attitudes towards this topic.

2 DEVELOPMENT OF MIGRATION SITUATION BETWEEN THE YEARS 2004 TO 2024 AND THE CHARACTERISTICS OF FOREIGNERS IN SLOVAKIA

The chapter describes the migration situation in Slovakia from its accession to the European Union in 2004 to the present day. It characterises the most important milestones and events that determine it. It briefly introduces the reader to Slovak emigration abroad, focuses in particular on immigration, and characterizes the individual groups of foreigners in Slovakia. We consider the description of the initial state and development of migration in Slovakia as a platform for the following texts, which analyse the attitudes of the population towards migration and migrants, as well as political and media images of migration. In this way, it will be possible to observe the compliance or possible differences in narratives or knowledge about migration and its actual situation.

The term migration is defined by the International Organization for Migration (IOM, 2024) as: "*the movement of persons or groups of persons across geographical and social space associated with a temporary or permanent change of residence*". Migration in a global context is also explained in the European Commission's Glossary on Migration and Asylum (Asylum and Migration, 2018). It sees it as the movement of persons within a state or across international borders, regardless of the reasons, voluntariness, legality or regularity of the movement. In terms of time, it defines it as a change of residence for at least one year. In general, migration can be classified according to movement within the country (internal) or outside it (international), according to its duration (temporary, permanent), according to the actors involved (individual, group or mass; organised or unorganised), according to the circumstances (voluntary and involuntary) and according to the reason (economic – labour, political, for the purpose of study, family reunification, as a result of a natural or man-made disaster). A migrant is a person who moves within a specific geographical area. Key findings in the field of migration are also provided by social science, social and historical disciplines that deal with migration and migration processes, especially acculturation and assimilation, which takes place over several years, even generations. In this context, persons with so-called migrant origin (foreigners; foreigners who have acquired citizenship; descendants of foreigners) are also considered migrants (Kadlečíková, no year given, p. 5). Slovak legislative practice replaces the word migrant with the term foreigner. According to Act No. 404/2011 Coll. on the residence of foreigners, a migrant is a person who is not a citizen of the Slovak Republic.

2. 1 EMIGRATION FROM SLOVAKIA

Slovakia can still be considered mainly an emigrant country. In the past, the main reasons for emigration were poor economic conditions, overpopulation, religious persecution, but also political conviction. Among the most important waves were the emigration of the population from the end of the 17th century to the Low Country (Dolná zem); the exodus to Western European countries and overseas, which began at the end of the 19th century and lasted until about the 1930s; and finally the emigration after the political upheavals of the 1940s and 1960s, which also went westwards and overseas (Botík, 2007; Navara, 2009; Ratica, 2006; Tvrdíková, 2007, p. 34).

The end of the communist regime and the opening of the borders after 1989 meant that Slovaks went abroad for various reasons. One of the most important reason was leaving for work. In 1998, according to the Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic, approximately 59,000 Slovaks worked abroad, and in 2003 it was 82,200 Slovaks working abroad (Jurčová, 2008, p. 35). After Slovakia's accession to the European Union, the labour market of significantly richer European countries opened up to countries with lower earnings. The intensity of labour migration from Slovakia at that time could be compared with countries with relatively the same economic development, such as Poland or the Baltic countries (Gál, 2013, p. 75). The most frequent motive for their departure was also labour motives. In 2004 and 2005, immediately after joining the European Union, 103,600 and 125,500 Slovak migrants were already recorded as going abroad for work, and these numbers have been steadily increasing (Jurčová, 2008, p. 35).

In the first phase after the so-called eastern enlargement of the European Union, the United Kingdom, Ireland and Sweden opened their labour markets. Other countries took advantage of the transitional arrangements and eased them gradually. The longest period was used by Germany and Austria, which only opened them up in May 2011. The opening of the labour market in the relatively distant United Kingdom and Ireland made these countries the most frequent recipient countries for Slovaks after the Czech Republic, where around 100,000 Slovaks worked in total. The number of labour migrants to the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland peaked in 2013 at 10,800. Interest in working in Austria and Germany increased after the legalisation of self-employed care work and the opening of the labour market (Bahna, 2011, p. 3). While in 2004 there were 6,700 inhabitants working in Germany and 5,800 inhabitants working in Austria, in 2016 the numbers were already 29,800 and 50,600 (ŠÚ SR, Datacube, 2024).

In 2007, when the migration wave from Slovakia peaked, approximately one in ten employed Slovaks worked abroad. After joining the European Union, emigration from Slovakia can be characterised as mainly temporary labour migration, especially of young people up to 35 years of age (Gál, 2013, p. 75). Its highest peak was recorded in 2007 and 2008. After 2008, the number of labour migrants abroad declined mainly due to the strengthening of the Slovak currency as well as the global financial and economic crisis that affected Slovakia and the destination countries as well.

Graph 1. Short-term labour migration abroad
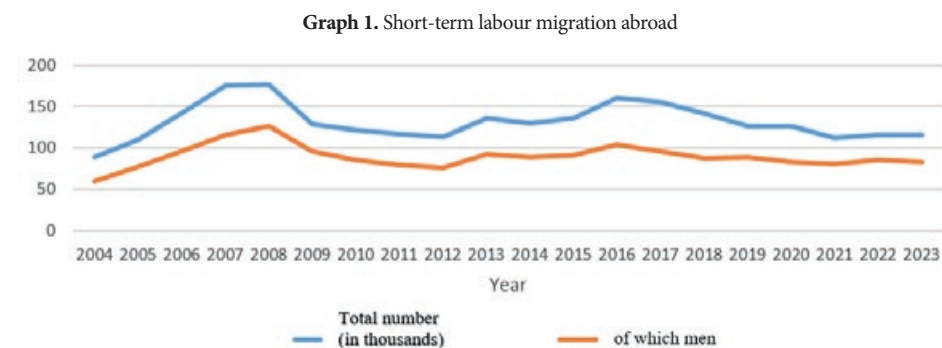
Source: Processed according to the ŠÚ SR, Datacube, 2023

Both the number of participants and the ranking of destination countries for short-term labour migrants changed in 2023. The ranking is already led by Germany (33,200), Austria (30,000) and the Czech Republic (22,300), followed by Hungary (8,100), the Netherlands (5,100) and Switzerland (3,900). The number of short-term migrants from Slovakia in the United Kingdom has fallen to 2,400 after its withdrawal from the European Union. In terms of regional affiliation, the largest number of migrants went abroad to work in the Prešov and Košice regions, followed by the Žilina region. Three quarters of them are individuals with lower secondary or full secondary education (ŠÚ SR, Datacube, 2024).

Graph 1 shows that the proportion of men going abroad for work ranged from 59.8% to 75.2% over the whole monitored period. The highest proportions are observed in 2008 and 2009 and in 2021 to 2023. However, the prevalence of women can be observed in terms of the total number of emigrants from permanent residence, where women lead in all the years under study. In 2004, 1,586 persons emigrated abroad from permanent residence in Slovakia, of whom 1,018 were women. In 2022, the figure was 4,468 persons, of whom 2,517 were women. In terms of age criteria, in 2004, the predominant category among

the emigrants were 25 to 34 year old (38.7%). In 2022, the largest groups are already 35 to 44 year old emigrants (ŠÚ SR, Datacube, 2004, 2022).

In recent years, Slovaks have been moving abroad for a number of reasons, including work and business, study or family ties. Regardless of the motives for leaving, the length of stay or the legal form of residence, approximately 300,000 to 350,000 citizens of the Slovak Republic have been living abroad in recent years (Jurčová – Pilinská, 2014; Divinský, 2007; Hlinčíková – Mesežnikov, 2016). The available professional sources and statistical data allow us to outline the general profile of a typical Slovak emigrant, who is usually a male under 35 years of age, with a high school diploma, employed mainly in construction, industry and health or social services (Letavajová – Divinský, 2019).

2. 2 DEVELOPMENT OF TOTAL NUMBER OF FOREIGNERS IN SLOVAKIA

In terms of the development of the number of foreigners in our territory, the year 2004 is particularly significant. The arrival of foreigners to Slovakia increased significantly after Slovakia's accession to the European Union and the Schengen area in 2007. In 2004, 22, 108 foreigners with valid residence were registered in the country, which represented 0.41% of the total population. According to data from the end of 2021, the figure was already 167,519 (3.08%) (PPZ ÚHaCP, 2021). These data indicate an almost 8-fold increase in the foreign population. Despite the fact that the number of foreigners in Slovakia is growing, we are still in last place compared to other countries of the European Union. In 2021, in terms of this indicator, we overtook only Poland (1.21%) and Romania (0.75%). The share of foreigners in the neighbouring Czech Republic was less than 5.96% and in Austria almost 16.99% (IOM, 2024). In terms of foreigners per total population of the country, we were at the bottom at the beginning of 2022. The average of the European Union countries in terms of this criterion was 11.4 foreigners per 1,000 inhabitants, in the neighbouring Czech Republic 32.6 and in Slovakia only 1 foreigner (Eurostat, 2021).

The situation changed radically after the outbreak of military conflict in Ukraine in 2022. At the end of 2023, a total of 311,406 foreigners were registered in the Czech Republic, representing a 5.7% share and a 14-fold increase since 2004 (PPZ ÚHaCP, 2023; ŠÚ SR, 2023). In the Czech Republic, the share of foreigners in 2023 rose to 9.78% (ČSÚ, 2004/06 – 2024/03).

In terms of nationality, in 2004 there is an almost equal proportion of third country citizens and citizens of the European Union and the EFTA. European Union and EFTA citizens have a clear predominance until 2017, but after this year the number of third-country citizens increases. One year before the outbreak of the military conflict in Ukraine, their share was 66.5% of foreign citizens, and by the end of 2023 it is already 82.1% (PPZ ÚHaCP, 2023).

Table 1. Foreigners with a residence permit in Slovakia

	2004	2008	2012	2016	2018	2021	2023
Number of foreigners	22,108	52,706	67,877	93,247	121,264	167,519	311,406
Share of foreigners (%)	0.41	0.97	1.25	1.72	2.22	3.08	5.7
Proportion of EU and EFTA citizens (%)	49.5	63.1	63.1	55.8	46.1	33.5	17.9

Source: Letavajová – Divinský, 2019; PP ÚHaCP, 2018, 2021, 2023

Immediately after the accession to the European Union, foreigners from neighbouring countries – Ukraine, the Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary, but also from Russia – were mainly present in our country. These are mainly citizens of neighbouring countries and citizens who have long-term working, social and family relations with Slovakia. Following the accession of Romanians and Bulgarians to the union in 2007, their numbers have also increased significantly. Romania almost immediately became the second most important country in terms of immigration and the share of people from this country increased almost 5 times in 2008 compared to 2004 (Divinský, 2009, p. 39). The arrival of Serbs and Romanians is mainly related to the expansion of the labour market. Foreigners from Asian countries (Vietnam, China, Thailand, Korea) are also more numerous. In the past, Chinese and Vietnamese in particular were large groups with dynamic growth; today their growth has slowed down. The "European migration crisis", which culminated in 2015 and 2016, did not significantly affect the ranking of the most numerous countries of foreigners in our country. Only the military conflict in Ukraine has caused significant changes in the structure of foreigners (Table 2).

Table 2. Number of valid residences of EU and EFTA citizens and third-country citizens, 2004, 2016, 2023, TOP 10

	2004	Number	2016	Number	2023	Number
1.	Ukraine	4,007	Ukraine	13,024	Ukraine	179,160
2.	Czech Republic	3,583	Czech Republic	10,317	Serbia	19,045
3.	Poland	2,468	Hungary	7,813	Czech Republic	12,684
4.	Hungary	1,519	Serbia	7,232	Hungary	9,631
5.	Russia	1,213	Romania	6,907	Vietnam	9,082
6.	Germany	988	Poland	5,562	Russia	8,434
7.	Vietnam	832	Germany	4,380	Romania	6,658
8.	United Staes	643	Russia	4,032	Poland	6,062
9.	Bulgaria	633	Italy	2,757	Georgia	5,217
10.	Austria	576	Vietnam	2,580	Germany	4,508

Source: PPZ ÚHaCP, 2004, 2016, 2023

Foreigners in Slovakia associate themselves on the basis of three **types of residence** – permanent, temporary and tolerated. Permanent residence means that foreigners have the same rights and obligations as Slovak citizens in most areas of life (e.g. employment, health care, social affairs, public life at the regional level). Special conditions apply to third-country nationals, who must undergo authorisation procedures before coming to Slovakia. As a rule, they apply for temporary residence, e.g. for the purpose of work, business or study, and later they can apply for permanent residence. Tolerated residence is granted for a maximum of 180 days. It is used for the purpose of dealing with specific situations in which a foreigner finds himself/herself during his/her stay in Slovakia.

Table 3. Number of valid stays of third-country nationals by type of residence, 2023, TOP 10

	Temporary stay		Permanent stay		Tolerated stay	
	Nationality	Number	Nationality	Number	Nationality	Number
1.	Ukraine	53,160	Ukraine	9,841	Ukraine	113,521
2.	Serbia	17,207	Russia	3,677	Russia	323
3.	Vietnam	6,144	Vietnam	2,931	Bosnia and Herzegovina	46
4.	Georgia	5,100	United Kingdom	2,603	Moldova	30
5.	Russia	4,434	China	2,084	USA	22
6.	India	2,232	Serbia	1,838	Georgia	18
7.	Northern Macedonia	2,850	USA	869	Turkey	17
8.	Bosnia and Herzegovina	1,579	Northern Macedonia	868	Azerbaijan	24
9.	Moldova	1,261	Republic of Korea	711	Syria	36
10.	Belarus	1,235	Turkey	448	Armenia	26

Source: PPZ ÚHaCP, 2023

In this context, the Bureau of Border and Foreign Police also records the **types and reasons for the residence of third-country nationals**. More than half of all temporary residence permits (109,043) in 2023 were granted for business (44,572) and employment (26,939) purposes. Other reasons included family reunification (13,790), study (13,101), status of a Slovak living abroad (9,427), sports activities (447), research and development (166), subsidiary protection (143), volunteering (104) or lecturing (77). Tolerated stay was granted by the authorities as temporary shelter for 114,150 persons, of whom 66 were unaccompanied minors. Constantly the smallest number of persons is granted permanent residence (Bargerová, 2023, p. 53), despite the fact that the number of foreigners from third countries in our country is on the rise. In 2023, 32,632 persons were granted this type of residence, of whom 18,734 were granted long-term residence, 6,879 permanent residence for an indefinite period, 4,812 permanent residence for 5 years, 1,268 as a family member of a citizen of the European Union, and 321 as an asylum seeker (PPZ ÚHaCP, 2023).

In the context of **territorial or regional affiliation**, it can be argued that foreigners in the territory of Slovakia are mainly concentrated in Bratislava and its close surroundings. From a pan-European perspective, before Slovakia joined the European Union, the Bratislava region was the second region (after the Inner London region) with the largest relative concentration of foreigners [1] (Salt, 2005 according to Divinský, 2009, p. 22). Bratislava and the Bratislava region are the main destinations of foreigners even today. This is documented by data from 2023, according to which third-country nationals were most frequently registered in the Bratislava (92,808), Trnava (27,578), Košice (31,891) and Nitra (27,993) regions. (PPZ ÚHaCP, 2023). Foreigners find employment opportunities here, attracted by the favourable geographical location. Ukrainians, who are the most

---

[1] Ratio between the share of foreigners in the population of the region and the share of foreigners in the total population of the country.

numerous, live almost equally in western and eastern Slovakia, which is closest to Ukraine. Most Serbian migrants live and work in western Slovakia, mainly in the automotive industry (Bargerová, 2023, pp. 57–58).

Integration of foreigners into the host society is also part of migration policy. Although the European Union tries to coordinate some standards of integration management methods, it leaves the competence and responsibility in this area to the individual Member States. It is not only migrants and the state that are involved in the integration process, but also the setting up of local institutions, migrants' access to citizenship or the attitudes of the local population towards migrants (Jelínková, 2023, p. 22). The approach of political representatives to integration is considered by several experts to be insufficient. In this context, Štefančík comments that politicians have been reluctant to talk about the integration of migrants in recent years, the topic has been marginalised and to date no systematic approach to integration has been put forward by state institutions (Štefančík – Stradiotová – Seresová, 2022). Plavnická and Slošár (2018) also refer to the numerous obstacles and limitations within the various areas secured by integration policy. It is evident from several researches that migrants in Slovakia have limited opportunities within the individual areas provided by integration policy, they face numerous obstacles , such as a narrowed range of social services, the setting of which is rather oriented towards their non-use.

The final phase of the integration process, which takes place in the official institutional level, is the naturalisation of foreigners. Foreigners acquire citizenship on the basis of Act No. 40/1993 Coll. on the citizenship of the Slovak Republic. According to Bargerová (2023, p. 56), a trend of gradual and continuous tightening of migration legislation and a more negative attitude of state institutions towards foreigners can be perceived in this area. It has been evident since 2001, including the tightening of the conditions for citizenship between 2007 and 2010. This trend has resulted in a 15-year decline in the number of nationalities granted annually after 2007 to a minimum. The naturalisation rate, which is the proportion of citizenship granted to foreigners in relation to the total number of foreigners, is dramatically low in Slovakia compared to other European Union countries (ranging from 0.36% to 0.99%) (Eurostat, 2018; Bargerová, 2016; ŠÚ SR, 2020). Káčerová (2016), Behúňová and Oboňová (2021) have also treated the issue of naturalization in their works.

Foreigners in Slovakia, whether they are staying in the country for a short period of time, permanently, for a longer period of time or have even acquired citizenship, they are gradually becoming part of the Slovak society. As individuals, groups or communities, they are getting involved in its affairs at multiple levels, such as social, cultural, economic, political and others. This is also done through official associations, societies and organisations,

there are several of them in Slovakia. There are several migrant communities in Slovakia, for example the Afghan community (Association of Afghans in Slovakia), the African Cultural, Information and Integration Centre, the Islamic Foundation in Slovakia, the Cuban community and the Vietnamese community. In addition to these, we also know about Internationals Bratislava – an association of foreigners from different countries who live in Bratislava, the Union of Chinese in Slovakia, the Association of Serbs in Slovakia, the Union of Rusyn-Ukrainians in Slovakia and others.

2. 3   LABOUR MIGRATION

Labour migration is one of the most dynamic types of migration. The interest in Slovakia as a country where foreigners want to work is related to a number of factors, especially economic conditions, the increase in foreign investment, simplified access of European Union citizens to the labour market, the enlargement of the Union to include new countries in 2007, the demand for labour and others.

Citizens of the European Union and the EFTA and their family members have the same status as citizens of the Slovak Republic in employment relations in Slovakia. If they work here, employers are obliged to report on the movement of foreigners by means of information cards. Foreign nationals from third countries must obtain an employment permit, which they (themselves or through their employer) apply for before arriving in the country.

In 2004, 3,417 foreigners worked in Slovakia, of whom 2,656 were men and 761 were women. The authorities granted employment permits to 1,106 of them, 2,120 persons were employed with an information card for citizens of the European Union and EFTA 191 persons with an information card for persons from third countries. In terms of country of origin, they came from approximately the same number of third countries, both old and new European Union countries. The most numerous migrant workers were from the Czech Republic (631), Ukraine (357), Germany (349), France (220), the United States (197), the United Kingdom (157) and Austria (134).

The number of migrant workers has grown dynamically since then, even during the global economic crisis. In 2009, the authorities registered approximately 15,130 migrants (ÚPSVaR, 2004, 2009). Among the most significant groups were labour migrants from Romania, Serbia and Ukraine. After the accession of Romania and Bulgaria to the European Union in

2007, the number of foreigners from these countries in Slovakia increased almost 8-fold and Romanians became the most numerous labour migrants (Filadelfiová – Gyarfašová – Sekulová – Hlinčíková, 2011, p. 20). While in 2005 only 169 Romanians were employed in Slovakia, in 2008 as many as 2,436 were employed in Slovakia. Many of the labour migrants from Romania, as well as Bulgaria and Serbia, come from Slovak minority backgrounds and benefit from the status of a foreign Slovak and thus from simplified access to the labour market (Sekulová, 2010). For migrants from Ukraine, the fact that the quotas for the employment of workers from Ukraine were abolished in 2008 played an important role (Hlinčíková – Lamačková – Sekulová, 2011, p. 417).

As shown in Graph 4, men predominated among labour migrants. In 2004, they represented 77.7% and in 2009 they represented 80%. The share of foreigners from the old EU countries is even higher (88.3%), which seems to be related to new investments, the establishment of new businesses and the arrival of highly qualified workers in middle and senior management positions. The significantly higher representation of women is particularly noticeable among Thai, Russian and Ukrainian labour migrants.

In 2011, an important change took place in the employment of third-country foreigners. The aim was to facilitate economic migration and the employment of highly skilled migrants. Since June 2011, migrants from these countries have been able to apply for a so-called blue card. Among other things, they have to provide proof of professional qualifications (university degree or five years' work experience) in order to be issued with the card. Compared to neighbouring countries and the European Union average, we rank last in the number of blue cards issued (MPSVaR SR, 2018, p. 11).

Table 4. Foreigners working in Slovakia

	2004	**2008**	**2012**	**2016**	**2018**	**2021**	**2023**
Number of foreigners	22,108	52,706	67,877	93,247	121, 264	167,519	311,406
Number of working foreigners	3,417	13,979	11,547	35,090	69,116	68,188	100,583
Of which male	2,656	11,303	8,672	25,381	51,138	48,176	61,812

Share of working foreigners in the total number of foreigners (%)	15.5	26.5	17	37.6	57	40.7	32.3

Source: Letavajová – Divinský, 2019; PP ÚHaCP, 2004, 2008, 2012, 2016, 2018, 2021, 2023

Current data on the structure of labour migrants is provided by the Central Office of Labour, Social Affairs and Family (ÚPSVaR, 2020). According to them, 100,583 persons were employed in our country as of December 2023, 61.5% of whom were men. Of these, 31,892 were citizens of European Union and EFTA countries (with an information card) and 68,691 were third-country nationals (of whom 26,102 were persons with an employment permit and 42,589 persons with an information card without an employment permit). The largest group of employed people today are foreigners with secondary education. For foreigners from European Union countries or with an information card, groups with higher education are also significant (ÚPSVaR, 2023).

According to the data in Table 5, it can be deduced that foreigners work in Slovakia mainly as operators and assemblers of machinery and equipment, both as citizens of third countries and as citizens of European Union and EFTA countries. This trend is mainly related to the development of the automotive industry in Slovakia. Foreigners from Western European countries, as well as China, are more often employed as specialists and foreigners from China and Thailand as workers in trade and services. The presence of the Korean population is strongly tied to management jobs in the automotive industry. In the case of workers from the European Union, positions as specialists and technicians and professional workers are also filled, requiring both higher education and experience. Among the European Union population, Romanians are the most frequently employed, who are mostly employed as operators and skilled workers and craftsmen. They are followed by workers from the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland. Many of them are employed as legislators, managers, specialists, in trade, but also as helper and unskilled workers (Romanians). Third-country nationals are more often employed as auxiliary and unskilled workers (Ukrainians), a smaller proportion are also employed as legislators and managers (Koreans, Ukrainians), specialists (Ukrainians, Russians, Serbs).

Table 5. Most frequent countries of origin of employed foreigners and type of most frequent occupation, June 2023, TOP 10

EU and EFTA countries	Number	The most frequently practised profession	Third-country nationals with a work permit	Number	The most frequently practised profession	Third-country nationals with an info card	Number	The most frequently practised profession
Romania	7,068	operators, qualified workers and craftsmen	Ukraine	10,039	operators, qualified workers and craftsmen	Ukraine	29,268	operators, qualified workers and craftsmen
Czech Republic	6,530	legislators, executives, operators	Serbia	3,770	operators, qualified workers and craftsmen	Serbia	5,911	operators, qualified workers and craftsmen
Hungary	5,977	operators, qualified workers and craftsmen	India	2,683	operators, qualified workers and craftsmen	Russia	1,010	managerial, auxiliary and unskilled workers
Poland	3,077	operators, qualified workers and craftsmen	Georgia	1,266	operators, qualified workers and craftsmen	India	528	specialists, operators
Bulgaria	2,270	operators, technicians, professional staff	Kyrgyzstan	809	operators, qualified workers and craftsmen	Republic of Korea	457	legislators, managers, technical and professional staff
Italy	1,310	specialists, administrative staff	Northern Macedonia	734	operators, qualified workers and craftsmen	Northern Macedonia	386	operators, qualified workers and craftsmen
Croatia	1,276	operators, technicians, professional staff	Moldova	653	operators, qualified workers and craftsmen	Georgia	374	operators, qualified workers and craftsmen
Germany	822	specialists, legislators, managers	Bosnia and Herzegovina	631	operators, qualified workers and craftsmen	Belarus	350	operators, specialists
Spain	752	specialists, administrative staff	Vietnam	541	services and trade, skilled workers and craftsmen	Moldova	330	operators, qualified workers and craftsmen
France	530	specialists, legislators, managers	Thailand	424	services and trade	China	225	services and trade, specialists

Source: Processed according to ÚPSVaR, 2023
Note: Operators (full text of occupation: operators and assemblers of machinery and equipment)

2.4   MIGRATION FOR STUDIES

Slovakia has a long tradition of accepting foreign students, which began in Czechoslovakia. Since the 1960s, students from the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Egypt, Syria, Afghanistan and other countries have come to Slovakia (Letavajová 2001). Many of them have settled here permanently, established families and integrated into Slovak society.

The breakthrough in the trajectory of migration for the purpose of the study was, from a quantitative point of view, the period 2004–2008. Until 2005, the stagnation in the number of foreign pupils and students from the previous years was still persistent (Divinský, 2005), but in the school year 2006/2007, a new trend began to manifest itself in the country – an increase in their number. The reason for this growth was the intensive development of legal immigration and the simplification of the conditions for the free movement of people and, therefore, for studying. However, in international comparison, the number of foreign university students in the country was still very low, in 2006, it was the third lowest in the European Union countries (after Poland and Lithuania) (Eurostat, 2009, according to Divinsky, 2009, p. 55). In 2004, more than 1,400 children with non-Slovak citizenship attended kindergartens, primary and secondary schools in Slovakia. Their numbers have been increasing every year, with an almost 16-fold increase in 2023. Of the 22,000 children, 2,840 attended kindergartens, 12,721 primary schools, 3,069 grammar schools, 174 conservatories and 2,979 secondary vocational schools (CVTI SR, 2023).

As for foreign university students, the number of those attending the first, second and third degrees of public universities in 2004 was almost 1,600. A further 23 students enrolled in private universities. Since then, the number of foreign students has increased by approximately 1,000 individuals each year. In the first years after Slovakia's accession to the European Union, young people from the Czech Republic, Israel, Serbia, Montenegro and Ukraine mainly applied to study here. In the following years, students from Greece, Kenya, Kuwait, Norway, Poland, Sweden, as well as Saudi Arabia, the United Kingdom, Germany and India joined the ranks. In terms of quantity, students from Greece, for example, were an interesting group, with more than 1,000 students in 2011. The number of students from Ukraine also increased regularly throughout the period. In 2016, we registered 1,152 students from this country. Their number has increased radically, especially in connection with the war in Ukraine after 2022, when we already registered 9,847 students (CVTI SR, 2023).

In the last reporting year 2023, Slovak higher education institutions registered 17,216 students of the first and second degree and 433 students of the third degree of full-time education and 521 students of the external form of education. Approximately half of them are female. The most frequent are Ukrainian students with 10,072 Bachelors and Masters and 104 PhD students. In addition, there are significant groups of students from Russia (1,171), Germany (551), Norway (440), Belarus (413), Austria (373), Israel (340), Spain (309), Czech Republic (303), Serbia (291), Kazakhstan (279), Hungary (278), Iceland (230), India (229) and Poland (208). 14,157 foreigners graduated from higher education institutions this year and were awarded bachelor's and master's degrees. In the third degree, 336 foreign students obtained a diploma, which is approximately half of all graduates in this degree. The greatest interest was shown by foreign students in the Comenius University in Bratislava (441) and the Technical University in Košice (366) (CVTI SR, 2023; ŠÚ SR, 2020).

The increasing number of foreign students can also be demonstrated by their share in the total number of students at Slovak universities. In 2004, foreign students of full-time studies of 1st and 2nd degree made up 1.5%. In the case of graduate students, we are talking about a share of 1.4%. By 2023, this share increased almost 12-fold. In 1st and 2nd degree it has risen to 17.6%. For graduates of all three degrees of study, the share exceeded 8% (CVTI SR, 2023).

2. 5   ASYLUM MIGRATION

Refugees are a special group of migrants. According to the key document dealing with the international protection of refugees – "The Refugee Convention" – signed in Geneva in 1951, a refugee is a person who has "a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion or nationality, or on account of membership of a particular social group or holding certain political opinions, is unable to accept, or as a result of the aforementioned fears refuses to accept, the protection of his or her state." In the Slovak legal order, the term refugee is replaced by the term asylum seeker. A person who declares to a police department, in accordance with the regulations, that he/she is applying for asylum or subsidiary protection in the territory of the Slovak Republic is called an asylum seeker. Supplementary protection shall be granted in particular to applicants who have not been granted asylum but who have serious grounds for believing that, if returned to their country of origin, they would be subject to the death penalty or the execution thereof,

would be in danger of torture, inhuman treatment or serious and individual threat to their life (IOM, 2024).

Before joining the European Union, Slovakia was involved in assisting refugees as part of its asylum migration policy in the aftermath of the civil war in the former Yugoslavia in 1992 and 1993. Later, it was also involved in the resettlement of the Ukrainian population affected by the Chernobyl tragedy. Since the establishment of the Slovak Republic in 1993 until 2003, a total of 33,289 persons applied for asylum to our authorities, of whom 459 have been granted. The peak is registered in the first years of the 3rd millennium. In 2001, the number of asylum seekers exceeded 1,000 and in 2004 there were 11,395 asylum seekers. The applicants came mainly from India, Afghanistan, Iraq, Bangladesh and Russia. (MÚ MV MV SR, 2020) During the entire period of the Slovak Republic's functioning (1993 – April 2004), 60,708 persons applied for asylum in our country. The authorities granted asylum to 976 persons, refused it in 8,661 cases, granted subsidiary protection to 899 persons and, finally, discontinued the procedure in 50,912 cases (MÚ MV SR, 2024). The rate of granted asylum for the entire period is only 1.6%. These figures show that Slovakia is only a transit country for most refugees, but also that the applications themselves are strictly assessed.

A special event related to the asylum issue is the "European migration crisis" in 2015 and 2016. The number of asylum applications received by European countries in 2015 reached 1,255,640, which was a double increase compared to the previous year. A third of all applicants came from Syria (362,800 people). The next top countries were Afghanistan with 178,200 applications and Iraq with 121,500 applicants, followed by Eritrea, Nigeria and Iran. Refugees headed primarily to Germany, which registered more than 476,000 applications in 2015, which represented 35% of all first-time applicants in EU states (Eurostat, News release, 2016).

However, despite the politically and media problematic and hyperbolized situation, the ongoing events were not significantly reflected in the number of asylum seekers. On the contrary, in 2015 and 2016 the Slovak authorities registered slightly fewer asylum applications than in previous years. In 2015 alone, only 330 applications were registered in Slovakia, and in 2016 a total of 146 applications (MÚ MV SR, 2020). Among the 331 asylum applications in 2015, there were 271 first-time applicants. Of these, 25 proceedings against first-time applicants were initiated with Ukrainians, 12 with applicants from unspecified areas, and 6 with applicants from Syria. A special group of asylum seekers this year were 149 Assyrian Christian refugees from Iraq. For a long time, the Slovak Republic rejected the concept of quota redistribution of migrants within the framework of all European countries. Acceptance of Iraqi

refugees can be considered as a kind of concession or an alternative solution to this proposal. Iraqi migrants were brought to the country in December 2015 directly from a refugee camp in Kurdistan, where they fled the war and fanatics from the Islamic State (Mikušovič, 2016).

Another of the milestones was the arrival of the Ukrainian population after the outbreak of the military conflict in February 2022. In the initial period, Ukrainians sought refuge in neighboring countries, including Slovakia. Currently, we register the most of them in Germany (more than 1 million), Poland and the Czech Republic, Spain, Italy and Bulgaria. (Európska rada, 2023) They are followed by Slovakia, Romania and the Netherlands, where approximately 100,000 Ukrainians fled. Their arrival affected the overall structure of the population in Slovakia, dramatically changed the number of foreign and Ukrainian populations. In the first half of 2022, the number of foreigners from Ukraine increased to 139,847 and by the end of the year to 156,881. This meant an almost 280% increase in the course of a single year (MV SR, 2022). Ukrainians crossed our state borders in Vyšné Nemecké. In the first half of 2022, this border crossing registered more than 687,000 persons (PPZ ÚHaCP, 2022). Due to the conscription of Ukrainian men, women and children dominate among the arrivals. One month after the start of Russia's military aggression against Ukraine, 129,367 Ukrainian women and 104,413 children were registered in Slovakia. The highest number of refugees in one day was recorded by the foreign and border police on February 27, 2022, namely 7,126 (MV SR, Tlačové správy, 2022).

The easiest way to obtain legal status for people fleeing war is temporary refuge. It is possible to apply for it immediately upon entering the country or later. As for the Ukrainian population, more than 77,000 people applied for it in 2022 (MV SR, 2022), only a small part applied for asylum (154 people) (PPZ ÚHaCP, 2022). As of June 2024, there were 121,558 persons with tolerated stay for the purpose of temporary refuge in Slovakia. Most of them were in Košice (15,365), Nitra (11,825) and Žilina regions (12,468). Approximately one third of them are children (38,274 persons) and 8.2% are persons over 60 years of age (9,948). In terms of gender, the majority of them are women (65%) (MV SR, Dočasné útočisko, 2024).

According to the latest data from the Bureau of Border and Foreign Police (PPZ ÚHaCP, 2022, 2023), 963 asylum applications were registered in Slovakia in 2022 and 2023, of which most came from Ukraine (186), Turkey (215), Morocco (73) and Bangladesh (114) (MV SR, 2022, 2023).

Table 6. Number of asylum seekers

	2000	2004	2008	2012	2016	2021	2022	2024
Number of asylum seekers	282	11,395	909	732	146	370	547	50
Proportion of men (%)	84.1	85	90.7	81.6	98.1	96	71.5	86
Share of people aged 18+ (%)	94.3	89.8	87.5	92.5	77.4	89.7	74	82
Number of granted asylum statuses	11	15	22	32	164	29	23	13
Persons granted supplementary protection	27	-	66	104	12	13	48	3
Stopped proceedings	177	11,782	457	383	35	14	387	19
State citizenship granted	14	154	4	-	3	10		-

Source: ŠÚ SR; PPZ ÚHaCP, MÚ MV SR, according to Letavajová – Divinský, 2019, p. 17

2.6 ILLEGAL MIGRATION

Illegal migration is defined as

"unauthorized crossing of the country's border without valid travel documents, visas and residence permits or unauthorized stay in the territory of the country after the expiry of the documents, visas or residence permits" (IOM, 2016).

According to Divinský (2009, p. 59), the term illegal migration is associated with criminal activity, therefore in foreign literature it is usually replaced by the term *irregular*, *undocumented* or *unauthorized migration*. In Slovakia, in the past, even citizens of the Slovak Republic who were detained for intentionally or accidentally illegally crossing the state border were considered illegal migrants. Since 2006, however, they no longer appear in the statistics of illegal migrants. Since joining the European Union, the number of illegal migrants in the country has been gradually decreased, by 2008 it recorded a 4.6-fold decrease (Divinský, 2009, p. 60) and within the next six years an 8-fold decrease. The number of 10,946 irregular migrants in 2004 dropped to 1,304 in 2014 (IOM, 2024; MV SR, 2004).

Negative trends in this area began to reappear since 2014, when approximately 274,000 illegal migrants entered Europe. In the following period, their number increased even more drastically to 1.8 million, which the Frontex agency

described as the highest recorded number of illegal border crossings in history (Europarlament, 2017). Germany alone registered approximately 1.1 million of them (EC Europa, 2017).

The "European migration crisis", which peaked in 2015, also affected the development of illegal migration in our territory, despite the fact that it only marginally affected the Slovak Republic.Total illegal migration in 2015 increased by almost 100% year-on-year, from 1,304 to 2,535. Slovakia was also a transit country for migrants during this period. People from Hungary and a few from Austria passed through our territory (TASR, 2017). In 2016, illegal migrants in our territory came mainly from Ukraine (1,234), Iraq (145), Serbia (123), Afghanistan (114) and Syria (82) (PPZ ÚHaCP, 2016). This curve reached its peak in 2018, when we registered 2,814 illegal migrants in Slovakia (PPZ ÚHaCP, 2018). The European Union responded to these events with several measures. In April 2017, it introduced systematic checks on all persons entering the European Union, including its citizens. It created an electronic system to speed up controls at the external borders of Schengen and the registration of all persons who are not citizens of the European Union (Europarlament, 2017).

The culmination occurred again in the first half of 2023. In Slovakia, it was manifested by an almost 1,110% increase in secondary transit migration, which was headed from the Western Balkan route. By the end of 2023, approximately 47,610 foreigners were detained in our country (aktuality.sk, 2023). Most of them were registered in September (13,381). Illegal crossings mainly affected the land borders, where 46,259 persons were detained, most of them at the border with Hungary (46,301). From the point of view of the country of origin, these were primarily migrants from Syria (44,929), Turkey (1,014), Ukraine (703), Afghanistan (158) and Iraq (97). Among those detained, men dominated (40,415). Children under the age of 18 were also a relatively significant group. The authorities registered 143 cases of unaccompanied minors, of which 99 came from Syria. Almost 99% of all detainees stated that their destination country was Germany (PPZ ÚHaCP, 2023).

Illegal migration is also connected with criminal issues. In 2023, 202 prosecutions for human smuggling and trafficking were initiated and 212 persons were accused. As part of the readmission agreements, the Slovak authorities handed over 377 persons (mainly from Syria, Turkey and Vietnam) and, on the contrary, accepted 2,708 persons to Slovakia (mainly from Syria, Turkey and Afghanistan). Through the International Organization for Migration and Frontex, 164 assisted voluntary returns of foreigners to their homeland were realized. A total of 810

foreigners were placed in the Police Detention Centers for foreigners located in Medveďov and Sečovce. The Slovak Republic expelled 1,488 persons, more than half of them (828) came from Turkey (PPZ ÚHaCP, 2023).

3 PRESENTATION OF MIGRANTS IN MEDIA

As we stated in our 2020 monograph, ideally the media should reflect what is happening in the world. Adhering to the ethical principles of impartiality and balance of the presented information, without evaluation, commenting, without using figurative, emotionally charged words, perceiving the vulnerability and rights of those they report on. Of course, apart from public officials who are obliged to endure criticism within the so-called watchdog of journalism.

According to Bartošek and Tušer (2010, p. 15), the basic functions of journalism include interpreting *public opinion*, informing the public and the *public service*, guarding human rights and civil liberties (*public watch-dog*). In the case of reporting, when creating reports, they should answer the six basic reporting questions: who, what, when, where, how and why, to which, in the case of an extended report, they should provide "*further details, facts, quote the statements of politicians and other public officials, explain*" (Tušer, 2007, p. 104).

In the case of the presentation of sensitive topics, which certainly include the issue of migration, migrants, refugees, foreigners, but also ethnic minorities, the need for serious reporting is important, given its connection with a vulnerable group of people. When presenting different social groups of the population, especially minorities with a real or perceived different culture, the media can create or reinforce a stereotypical view. Especially for people who do not have direct experience with minorities, or their experience is based on a one-time experience. And it does not have to be the intention of the journalists, or their own prejudices. The influence on the form of presentation can be external, for example the philosophy of the medium, i.e. whether it is a tabloid or serious, liberal or conservative media, the attitude of the editorial board, whose intention may be primarily profit from advertising and increase of perception. Another influence is general attitude of society towards migrants, refugees and foreigners.

Tabloids are characterized by drama, which some emphasize by using punctuation marks such as exclamation point and question mark. Also according to Odaloš (2008), tabloid media reports include action, highlighted action with a transition to drama and a choice of topics focusing on tragedies, murders and sensations. According to Veverková (2014, p. 94), tabloid media editors use elements of pseudo-analysis and expressive language means in their reports, through which they give the news a negative or positive charge.

A significant part of the public is aware of the unreliability of news in the tabloid media. According to the findings of the latest Digital News Report research, up to 45% of international research participants (in Slovakia) do not trust the content of the tabloid media Nový Čas and up to 40% of the weekly tabloid Plus7dní. To them we can add 29% of respondents who have a benevolent attitude towards

their content (DNR, 2024, p. 103). Despite distrust, the mentioned media are among the most widely read (Median, 2023).

It is similar in the case of audiovisual media, where the recipients trust the Slovak public service media and the purely news television TA3 (56%) the most (DNR, 2024, p. 103). However, the most watched television is the commercial television Markíza (Median, 2023). Competing commercial television JOJ, whose main news is also among the most watched, tries to win viewers with news based on criminal cases.

Tabloid and serious media today compete to a large extent with the so-called alternative sources, among which we also find misinformation media and hate speech media, which explicitly spread hatred in connection with the presentation of vulnerable groups, in contrast to the tabloids, which mainly offer a negative image of events (Latavajová et al., 2020).

3. 1 CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF REPORTING (NOT ONLY) ABOUT MIGRANTS

Reporting on migrants is a part of media research, especially abroad. Based on them, we can already list its negative characteristics, which are primarily based on the philosophy of negativism, dramatization and emotionalization of media content. The authors of the document, which was created in 2017 as a part of the cooperation of radio broadcasters of eight European countries (Austria, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Slovenia and Spain), included among the negative examples of the presentation of migrants in the media:

1. Exaggeration – news that uses hyperbole by using words like wave, current, tide, mass invasion, etc. that can evoke images of a natural disaster and an impulse to protect yourself and your family.
2. The absence of reports on the positive benefits of migrants to society, as opposed to reports that present migrants as a burden.
3. The absence of statements by the migrants themselves in reports on migration, for which migrants are becoming a homogeneous mass. According to the authors, migrants themselves are literally silenced by the media.

4. Incomplete depiction of the migration or refugee crisis, lacking international context and reasons for migration.
5. Concentration of news on dramatic events involving migrants and their criminalization without additional information on the state of crime in the mentioned countries.
6. Uncritical interpretation of politicians' statements without opposing expert opinion or additional counter-questions.
7. Use of incorrect and imprecise expressions. In some reports, authors do not distinguish between migrant, refugee and asylum seeker. Terms such as *illegal migrants* are used instead of "arriving without authorization/permission" which can lead to legal status.
8. The presentation of migrants as both strangers and a homogeneous mass, which often overlaps the real reasons for individuals to flee and migrate, and overlooks their concerns, problems and dreams (RespectWords, 2017, pp. 11–12).

Based on a synthesis of several studies conducted in the 1980s and 1990s in the German media, Ruhrmann and Demren conclude that the media not only present prejudices against migrants, but also accentuate them in conflict situations. According to their findings, the topic of migrant criminality in the media doubled, even though the number of real crimes did not increase. "*Commercial television in particular exaggerates and dramatises migrant crime*" (Ruhrmann – Demren, 2005, p. 12).

In the Slovak space, before the migration crisis, we faced a negative presentation, especially in the case of the Roma minority. According to research on media outputs in 2014, Roma were portrayed as criminal elements, abusing social benefits, living in unsuitable conditions. According to the study, Roma with no previous media experience were asked inappropriate questions. Successful Roma projects, integration and Roma advocacy were covered in only 12% of the 900 stories monitored. The media paid more attention to Roma living in segregated areas, and according to the Atlas of Roma Communities, up to 46.7% of Roma were integrated among the majority in the analysed period (Horváthová, 2014; Gonda – Cibíková – Gajarský, 2014).

3. 2 "EUROPEAN MIGRATION CRISIS" AS A SOURCE OF MEDIA ANALYSIS

Until 2015, we do not find much research in the Slovak space that examines the image of migrants and refugees in the media. To a much greater extent, research on stereotypes and prejudices in the media until that period concerned the Roma minority. We found few studies in the neighbouring Czech Republic. According to the findings of one of them, in view of the constant reports about the Islamic State and its actions in Arab countries and Africa in the early 21st century, most of the refugees at that time were attributed to the Muslim faith, although the reality was not clear, and Christians were also fleeing the war. Moreover, as Křížková noted in 2007, in the case of Muslims,

'their difference was emphasised and understood exclusively negatively. Meanwhile, journalists provide very few opportunities to learn more about Muslims. Readers, who are unlikely to have any first-hand experience of Muslims in general, are given fragmentary and not very positive information, dominated by conflict, without deeper context. Particularly disturbing is the emphasis on difference, without further opportunities to understand it" (Křížková, 2007, p. 52).

According to Kantorová, during the "struggle" for the mosque in Česke Teplice, the profile of the Arab

"changed from the image of a rich and therefore welcome spa guest to that of someone to be feared because he actually 'belongs' to the same group as those who commit assassinations" (Kantorová, 2007, p. 57).

Hacek, in a rather brief quantitative research of news in serious online media in 2014, concluded that the topic of migration was predominantly associated by Slovak media with foreign countries and not with Slovakia (Hacek, 2014). Only the migration crisis increased the interest of media analysts in the form of their presentation also in Slovakia. According to the observation of many, after the summer of 2015, new verbal expressions were added in connection with migrants and refugees.

In Chudžíková research, conducted in September 2015, she focused on the analysis and comparison of the use of the term "refugee" in serious and tabloid online media, she found a consensus in the use of *"collective natural metaphors*

in framing refugees arriving in Europe – "wave", "tide", "influx", thanks to which refugees have become a *"faceless mass"* (Chudžíková, 2016, p. 108) and the absence of statements by the refugees themselves.

The same conclusions were reached by the research team of Tkaczyk, Pospěch and Macek (2015) from Masaryk University in Brno, based on an analysis of 507 stories from the main news programmes of Czech Television and Televísion Nova. According to them, the media compared migrants to a wave, an advancing mass, a tide or a tsunami. They also used the metaphor of

'the hunt', using terms such as interception, guarding, trapping, etc., and the metaphor of invasion, which presents the refugee crisis in military terminology (siege, raid, infiltration, etc.). Also striking, according to them, was the use of disembodied, objectifying language" (Tkaczyk – Pospěch – Macek, 2015, p. 5).

According to Tkaczyk (2017), the media coverage of a large number of migrants without a clear identity reinforced the idea of the threats of so-called islamisation and terrorism. Every second photograph presented migrants accompanied by forces, and approximately every third depicted them near fences or barriers (Tkaczyk, 2017). Spálová, Szabo and Viteková also stated

"in the case of Slovak articles, which supported their position mainly with emotionally coloured metaphors. The specificity of this approach was primarily in the more general focus of the metaphors in the headlines, which framed the entire text" (Spálová – Szabo – Viteková, 2017, p. 102).

Based on an analysis of 420 articles published in the print media on *some* days between May 2015 and March 2016, Žúborová and Borárosová found that the term migrant was presented negatively in 37 percent of reports in the print media, neutral reports about migrants in less than 60 percent, and positive reports in 3.5 percent. The positive reports associated the analysed media with volunteering and helping. Negative news was dominated by associations with threat, danger, terrorism, the failure of the European Union and economic migration (Borárosová – Žúborová, 2016).

3.3 MIGRANTS AND MIGRATION IN MEDIA AS A POLITICAL TOPIC

Presentation of migrants, migration and refugees in the Slovak media was most acute during and after the "European refugee crisis" in 2015. Although the negative statements made by politicians between 2004 and 2011 were already pointed out by Košcová and Androvičová. Košcová from the Centre for Research on Ethnicity and Culture in the quarterly journal "Minority Politics in Slovakia" in 2012, notes that in 2004 Slovak politicians in their speeches linked the issue of migration almost exclusively to the issue of security, violent migration, and conflict between social and ethnic groups (Košcová, 2012). *"The smaller the migration of some people from some cultures to Slovakia, the smaller the danger of terrorism"*, stated the acting Minister of the Interior, Kaliňák, in 2008. In a 2009 debate, he mentioned *"police problems in connection with the Muslim population"* (Košcová, 2012). A few years later, Androvičová adds further statements by politicians, mainly from the conservative „Kresťansko-demokratická strana" (KDH) "Christian Democratic Movement party", who spoke to the media about the need to recruit especially

"...highly skilled, educated people from civilisationally close countries, because it is true that in other countries the project of multiculturalism has failed, also thanks to uncontrolled migration" (Androvičová, 2015).

Also, many of the researches stated that the issue of migration, migrants and refugees was presented as a political issue. Many texts lacked statements from migrants and refugees themselves. Based on an analysis of news published on Czech news portals between July and October 2015, Tkaczyk concluded: *"In the analysed news coverage, migrants appeared mainly as a topic in political speeches and policies, rather than as full-fledged actors in news stories"* (Tkaczyk, 2017, p. 107).

Among the politicians addressed in Czech audiovisual news the Minister of the Interior and the Prime Minister were dominated. The Minister for Human Rights received disproportionately less space and the Minister of Labour and Social Affairs not at all, which clearly declares the presentation of the topic of migration purely as a security and administrative issue in connection with the strengthening of border defence, redistribution and with detention centres. Not as a social and human rights issue (Tkaczyk – Pospěch – Macek, 2015). According to Chudžíková, there was an absence of contextualization of politicians' statements and a significant share of agency reports (Chudžíková,

2016). Similar conclusions were reached in a comparison of media access in the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Estonia in a report by People in Distress.

"Politicians and civil servants were given the most space to express their views on migration in the media. In the countries surveyed, migration is perceived as a highly political topic and only occasionally actors who could bring a different perspective (migration experts, representatives of NGOs, etc.) get a voice. Even less space to express themselves is given to migrants themselves" (Pospěch – Jurečková, 2019, p. 16).

However, based on in-depth interviews with journalists, they found that Slovak journalists , unlike Czech journalists, tried to talk to migrants, and these interviews were also considered important by their editors and colleagues (Pospěch – Jurečková, 2019).

Chudžíková characterised the media discourse in September 2015 as relatively balanced and consistent. The media reported on proposals for solutions from both domestic and foreign institutions, while questioning the government's rejection of refugee reception (Chudžíková, 2016, p. 98). According to Spálová, Szabo and Viteková,

"In the case of the Slovak daily SME, it was more unambiguous that it was trying to define itself against the views of Slovak politicians who disagree with mandatory quotas and propose tighter security measures in the wake of ongoing migration. We have also seen more expressive criticism of the conditions to which refugees are subjected in the migration process" (Spálová – Szabo – Viteková, 2017, p. 102).

In the case of the tabloid Topky.sk, Chudžíková found contradictory actions of the media.

While *"on one hand, it primarily dealt with topics with the potential to provoke negative emotions and fear, on the other hand, it also presented content with the potential to correct the fear"* (Chudžíková, 2016, p. 98).

As an additional positive, she noted the interest of journalists in presenting the views of experts and organizations that provide integration services to refugees.

"*Articles with such content testify to the media's efforts to counterbalance negatively set public discourse.*" (Chudžíková, 2016, p. 100), including examples of successfully integrated foreigners. "*Thus, through experts, refugees were given a voice that was otherwise completely absent in the media during the period in question*" (Chudžíkova, 2016, p. 100).

We have also noted the interest of journalists in providing statements to experts and migrants themselves in our analysis of the political discussion programme O 5 minut 12 on the Slovak public service media (until recently RTVS, more recently STVR). In the analysed programme, politicians spoke about the threat of terrorism, about fears, about religions other than our own, about fear of other habits, values, cultures. They were balanced by an ethnology expert and a Syrian Kurd living in Slovakia (Letavajová et. al, 2020).

After the outbreak of the war in Ukraine, the name refugee, refugees was extended to the inhabitants of our neighbouring state. The media also used terms such as 'wave' in connection with them. This time, however, in addition to referring to the number of refugees who have arrived in Slovakia, we also found it in a survey of web media headlines as a wave of aid and a wave of solidarity. Of all of them we mention:

Nejedlý: "The head of Unicef: The wave of solidarity is wonderful, but we must also think about tomorrow." (in Slovak: "*Šéfka Unicefu: Vlna solidarity je úžasná, treba však myslieť aj na zajtrajšok*") (Forbes, March 4, 2022)

Dančiak: "A huge wave of solidarity is sweeping Slovakia. Absolutely everyone helps, police officers, volunteers and ordinary people." (in Slovak: "*Slovenskom sa valí obrovská vlna solidarity. Pomáhajú úplne všetci, policajti, dobrovoľníci aj obyčajní ľudia*") (Dobré noviny, February 27, 2022)

Oláhová: "A wave of aid swept through Slovakia. More than 30 million euros have already gone to Ukraine." (in Slovak: "*Na Slovensku sa strhla vlna pomoci. Na Ukrajinu odišlo už viac ako 30 miliónov eur*") (Trend.sk, March 2, 2022)

Matulic and Škokic, based on an analysis of the portrayal of refugees from Ukraine in British and American audiovisual media, conclude that pathos is used as a rhetorical device in the case of refugees from Ukraine, appealing to the audience's empathy and compassion (Matulic – Škokic, 2024, p. 13). In the media, according to their findings, the authors do not focus on the economic

or security implications of supporting refugees, as opposed to migrants during the migration crisis. The difference, in their view, is quite striking.

"*Ukrainians are presented as European (which is very positive in this discourse), educated and middle class with jobs, implying that they are better off than, for example, lower class refugees from Syria*" (Matulic – Škokic, 2024, p. 13).

The different approach to the presentation of refugees from Ukraine compared to refugees and migrants from other countries (not only) in the Slovak media was noticeable. However, two years after the beginning of the war in Ukraine, Ukrainians in Slovakia are also being referred to as a foreign workforce, and are mentioned in the media together with Serbs and Romanians.

3. 4   QUALITATIVE RESEARCH ON THE MEDIA PRESENTATION OF MIGRATION

Since most of the aforementioned studies were quantitative in nature, we opted for a qualitative analysis in our study. In order to more clearly illustrate the differences in the media's approach to presenting more complex issues, including migration, it is important to note not only the overall content of the text, its impression and the representation of the respondents, but above all the form in which the media frames them – the so-called media framing theory. Simply said: what the media present in the news, how they present it, which information they emphasize and which, on the contrary, they omit. As we will show later, the philosophy or focus of the media can also have an impact on how issues are presented in the media. Different ways of presenting issues are used by: commercial and public, tabloid and serious, liberal and conservative, left-wing and right-wing, mainstream, alternative or radical alternative media.

Method

We chose a critical discourse analysis to highlight the different approach of the media in presenting the issue of migration and the migrants themselves. According to Richardson, the aforementioned method first of all notices the naming strategy and descriptions of different persons and situations, as well as the use of positive and negative attributes in these descriptions (Richardson, 2006). Parker considers

it important in discursive analysis to focus mainly on what is described as normal and common in the text, what facts are thematized, which subjects are constructed by the media as active and which as passive actors, and what understanding of the world the analyzed text presents to us (Parker, 2005).

Sample selection

In order to highlight the different approach of the media, we chose both serious and tabloid online media. We based our selection on research on their perception. Among the online media that have a relatively high viewership in the long term are the serious media aktuality.sk, sme.sk, dennikn.sk and the tabloid media cas.sk and topky.sk. We have supplemented the study with an analysis of the form of presentation of the issue by the media, which other media describe as conspiratorial. For easier selection of the so-called relevant texts of the mentioned media, we chose the search portal google.com.

In order not to overlook texts containing the stories of individuals, we typed the term migrant into the Google search portal. We hypothesized that for the search term migrants, we would find primarily news stories focused on events involving a larger number of migrants. For the term migrant, we specified the online medium whose news we wanted to find and analyze (e.g., site: sme.sk), and in the tools we specified a news search, sorting by relevance, and an archive search. We selected the first three texts that Goolge considered relevant for the specific media. We made the selection of the analysed articles on Friday, July 17, 2020.

The reason why we have chosen to present the forms of processing of the issue in the media through an Internet search engine is primarily because of the desire for a certain authorial objectivity. We left the choice of relevant texts, probably based on subjectively chosen parameters, to the administrators of the aforementioned Internet browser.

When selecting the texts we analysed, we did not focus on a particular genre. Many analysts focus primarily on news when analysing the image of any event or group of people, as they can refer to the requirement of impartiality or objectivity in their assessment. In our view, however, other genres, such as commentaries or interviews, present the attitude and philosophy of particular media outlets.

Serious media – neutral reporting, positives and politicisation

Aktuality.sk – neutral news, emotional commentary

Applying the text search method, google.com found two news stories and one commentary with headlines as the three most relevant news stories on the internet news portal aktuality.sk:

> „*Sixteen-year-old migrant from Guatemala died in Texas government facility*" (in Slovak: *"Šestnásťročný migrant z Guatemaly zomrel vo vládnom zariadení v Texase"*) (AP – Reuters, 2019)

> *"Commentary by Dag Daniš: The fourth terrorist from Paris was also a migrant"* (in Slovak: *"Komentár Daga Daniša: Aj štvrtý terorista z Paríža bol migrant"*) (Daniš, 2015)

> *"Jesus was a migrant, too, Pope appealed at midnight Mass"* (in Slovak: *"Aj Ježiš bol migrant, apeloval pápež na polnočnej omši"*) (Reuters, 2016)

The first news that google.com considers the most relevant is the news of the death of a migrant in the United States of America. It briefly describes the course of events from the arrival of the minor victim at a refugee facility to his death in hospital. It reports on the care he received from the hospital, the embassy and a family member, as well as the ongoing investigation into the cause of death. It concludes that this is the third such death and reports very briefly on the ongoing wave of migration (AP – Reuters, 2019). The report lacks information on the causes of migration from Guatemala, the attitude of the authorities and the United States government towards it, the way migrants are cared for and the options for a solution. We are aware that this is an agency report, but the editors could have supplemented it with statements from experts. The report has neither negative nor positive connotations.

The second text offered by the google.com, included among the relevant texts a commentary by the commentator of the news portal aktuality.sk Daniš. In his commentary, the author, referring to other media reports, French investigators and the Hungarian Government, states that along with migrants and refugees, terrorists who committed the terrorist attack in the Paris club have also arrived in Europe. The author also puts the tragic event in context with the uncontrolled Muslim communities and ghettos in some European countries.

In the commentary, he uses the expressive phrases *"vulgar toleration"*, *"dangerously confused"* (Daniš, 2015) and the term *"leaders"*, whose placement in quotation marks is meant to question politicians whose actions the author disagrees with. Although in commentaries authors may present their opinion on the issue, due to the fact that the commentaries are an analytical journalistic genre of a rational nature, *"the author's striving for an objective vision and a strong desire for logical analysis"* are expected (Dočekalová, 2006, p. 85).

Regardless of the classification of Daniš's text as commentaries or glosses (Tušer, 2010, p. 127), we consider it important for our research to draw attention to the context of the criticism of migration policy by questioning some politicians through the use of derisive expressive terms, the absence of an analytical approach and the lack of context.

Emphasising the origin or ethnicity of terrorists can cause prejudice against all migrants, regardless of their origin and reasons for migration. Assignment is absent of the aforementioned terrorists to a specific terrorist group. If the author did not know this, he should have avoided using the term migrant. If the author needed to emphasise the origin of the terrorists, he should have included information concerning, for example, the differences in the number of terrorist attacks before and during the so-called migration crisis, as well as information concerning terrorist attacks carried out by European citizens, whether from ETA, the IRA, other separatist organisations, as well as so-called unaffiliated individuals. As Dočekalová (2006) notes, the commentary often borders on propaganda where the author is literally shielding someone.

The third text analysed is a news interpreting Pope Francis' Christmas message, in which he addresses the faithful and calls on them to help refugees by comparing their fate to that of Jesus. He draws attention to suffering children who have nothing to play with, are starving, have to fight with a gun in their hands and live in "dirty rollers that swallow up dignity" (quoted from Reuters, 2016). He calls for hospitality and asks people to care for the marginalised ones.

In the case of that report, it is an interpretation of a speech. It did not include statements by other respondents – experts who could have assessed its content. The author of the report uses a notional vocabulary. He quotes emotionally tinged expressions used by Pope Francis. The treatment of the report is neutral. As this is a text related to the feast of the birth of Jesus Christ, its choice may not have been related to the issue of migration and the editors' interest in it. The sources of both analysed reports were news agencies and therefore do not reflect the editorial office's own attitude towards migration issues. Their selection could be a certain manifestation of the editor´s attitude. In this case, however, the news is of a neutral impression – therefore, we could consider the attitude of the editorial office as neutral, which corresponds to the requirements for a serious news medium.

Sme.sk – positive news from news agencies

In the case of the online version of the daily newspaper Sme, after entering the term migrant, specifying the media and searching the archive, google.com sorted the news with the following headlines according to relevance:

"Migrant from Bangladesh died in the forest on the border with Poland" (in Slovak: *"V lese na hranici s Poľskom zomrel migrant z Bangladéša"*) (sme.sk, 2020)

"Immigrant who rescued child takes first step to gain citizenship" (in Slovak: *"Imigrant, ktorý zachránil dieťa, urobil prvý krok pre získanie občianstva"*) (TASR – AP, 2018)

"The number of foreigners in the Slovak Republic is growing, but slowlier than in other EU countries" (in Slovak: *"Počet cudzincov v SR narastá, ale pomalšie ako v iných krajinách EU"*) (SITA, 2018)

News agencies and a Facebook page were the source of the news information. In the case of news agency reports, the content of the news is created by their editors, who are anonymous. Editor of the media outlet that handles the news from the agency or the Internet can influence the presentation of the issue by selecting, editing, choosing or modifying the headline.

A brief report on the death of a migrant is concise and unambiguous, without the use of superfluous adjectives. The source of the information is the Facebook page of the Slovak Police. The report lacks additional information, e.g. on the current economic and political situation in Bangladesh, as a possible reason for the victim's migration (sme.sk, 2020).

The second report, which the search engine Google considered relevant in the case of the internet media sme.sk, is about the granting of citizenship to an illegal immigrant who saved the life of a child (TASR – AP, 2018). The source of the news was news agencies. The report is dominated by information about the possible future of the immigrant: his future employment in the rescue forces and his possible acquisition of citizenship. The report briefly reports on the incident, but does not mention it at the beginning of the report, but rather at its core.

We consider the information about the nickname Spiderman, which the rescuer was given, as well as information from the private life of the rescued child's family to be less notional and also partly tabloid (TASR – AP, 2018). The tabloidisation in serious media has been noted in the recent past, for example, by Veverkova (2014). The report includes a statement about an association helping migrants

to "*extract political capital*" by helping the aforementioned migrant (TASR – AP, 2018). The report they published lacks a statement from the rescuer himself.

The third text is again a news agency report. The editors of the newspaper have chosen a text that explains the positive effects of so-called economic migration for society, as presented by the staff of the International Organization for Migration. Already in the first lines of the report, the respondents describe the current situation as *"the best and most desirable that a country could wish for"* (SITA, 2018). In the context of the contribution of immigrants to the country's economy and labour market, especially because of the shortage of workers. They point out the unsubstantiated of the negative connotation with economic migration. The report contains additional information on the number of foreigners in Slovakia and organizations assisting migrants and foreigners (SITA, 2018). The report lacks information on the specific countries from which foreigners come to Slovakia, the success of their employment or other forms of integration, and statements by the foreigners themselves.

We are aware that the reports analysed by us and published in the internet daily sme.sk were not the authors' articles, but the reports may have been supplemented by the authors. On the basis of a relatively brief analysis of the three relevant reports published on the sme.sk internet portal, according to Google, we can conclude that among them, reports that present the issue of migration and migrants in a positive light dominate. Additional information and opposing views are absent in the analysed reports. They use a notional vocabulary when reporting. The sources of their information are news agencies and the Internet – however, the news portal itself expressed its attitude towards migration by selecting and publishing them.

In order to be able to conclude from our analysis that the sme.sk portal presents only positive news, we would have to conduct a quantitative content analysis. We do not consider it sufficient to present unilaterally positive news, without providing additional information on the issue of integration. However, they can be seen as a counterbalance to the rather negative news and comments from other media.

Dennikn.sk – politicisation of the issue

In the case of the online version of the daily newspaper Denník N, the internet portal google.com, after entering the term migrant in the archive, ranked the following three texts among the first:

"One migrant per refugee, can the agreement with Turkey work?" (in Slovak: *"Jeden migrant za utečenca, môže dohoda s Tureckom fungovať?"*) (Žitňanský, 2016)

"Kotleba's website Magazín1 is spreading another hoax. It wrote about a rapist from China that he is a migrant from Afghanistan" (in Slovak: *"Kotlebovský web Magazín1 šíri ďalší hoax. O násilníkovi z Číny napísal, že je migrant z Afganistanu"*) (Šnídl, 2019)

"Fico outmaneuvers Merkel and Berlin police and points to refugee" (in Slovak: *"Fico predbehol Merkelovú aj berlínsku políciu a ukázal na utečenca"*) (Kern, 2016)

In the case of the dennikn.sk portal, the first relevant article from the archive was offered as a text that corresponds in its content rather to a commentary, although no similar information is given in its header. In it, the author reflects on the feasibility of an agreement between the European Union and Turkey to stop the migration crisis in March 2016. He questions the feasibility of stopping so-called illegal migration, which he links to Turkey's demands to speed up accession negotiations with the European Union and to liberalise the visa regime. These, in the author's view, contradict the increasingly authoritarian regime in Turkey and the values of the European Union. He narrows down the issue of migration and migrants itself to a political dispute and the illegality of migration (Žitňanský, 2016). As this is likely to be a commentary, we cannot ask the text to answer basic intelligence questions. However, as a journalistic genre of an analytical type, commentary should offer the percipient a deeper insight into the issue. The commentary lacks further context on the issue of migration. Unlike the commentary by Daniš from the aktuality.sk portal, the author does not use expressive terms and does not attack anyone.

The second text under relevance is an author's report that highlights the misuse of false information to politicise and provoke negative information. In it, the author reports on the efforts of a certain web portal to publish misinformation. The portal in question presented a video from China, which the author described as footage from the Netherlands. The violent Chinese resident was presented as a migrant from Afghanistan who had beaten and raped a woman. The author supplements his report with information regarding the creator of the website, who is a member of the political party "Kotlebovci – Ľudová strana Naše Slovensko" ("Kotleba's People's Party Our Slovakia") (Šnídl, 2019). Political scientists classify the political party in question as a radical right-wing or extremist political party (Štefančík – Dulebová, 2017). Šnídľ's report also mentions other efforts by the website to spread false information, the intention of which was to unjustifiably attack Roma and the ideas of the LGBTI rights

philosophy in relation to the Pope. The author added information concerning the event depicted in the video as well as the punishment of the perpetrator of the attack. On the subject, he approached an expert – a sinologist and the person responsible for the controversial portal (Šnídl, 2019). Considering the fact that the report contained all the relevant information, and the opposing party's statement was also allowed, we can conclude that in relation to the topic of the article, all the requirements set for reporting were met.

The third text that the google.com search engine listed as relevant on dennikn.sk was an annotated report. In order to be classified as news, the text would have to briefly answer basic news questions without commenting – which the text we analysed does not fulfil. In order to classify the text as commentary, we found a lot of news data when analyzing it (Kern, 2016). In the text, the author criticizes the then Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic Fico, for misusing the event that took place in Berlin to attack migrants and Muslims, defending his negative attitude towards them. Kern stresses the cautiousness of the Berlin police in providing information, as well as the reticence of the German Prime Minister and the German Interior Minister. In his comments, quoted by the author, the Slovak Prime Minister explicitly described the arrested suspect as a murderer and a migrant, and linked the whole incident to the creation of coherent Muslim communities, the attack on *"human rights sanctimonious people"*, and Fico's purposeful attempt to scare people by linking the incident in Berlin to the threat to the lives of their children. The author supplements the text with a similar event linked to a Slovak Prime Minister from the past (Kern, 2016). The text should have included more information about the event in Berlin. However, we assume that at the time of the text's publication it was already public knowledge. At the same time, the author could have approached a political scientist who could have commented, for example, on the issue of political populism and manipulation.

All of the above-mentioned texts of Denník N show an attempt to politicize the issue. In all the texts, politicians and their approach to the issue were mentioned and a strong authorial approach was taken, not only in reporting, but especially in commenting on the actions of politicians and politically engaged individuals. On the issue of migration and migrants themselves, the authors in the texts we have presented do not comment either positively or negatively. In fact, they do not comment on it at all.

If we were to evaluate the mass media only on the basis of our findings, Denník N is clearly not a classical news media, the authors comment and evaluate the information. Its content is politicising and biased. To generalise our findings, however, we would need to do a deeper quantitative analysis.

Tabloid media – dramatizing negative news

In the case of the tabloid internet media topky.sk and cas.sk, after applying the selection method, google.com searched for the following articles, very similar in content:

Cas.sk

"Migrant abused child: disgusting excuse" – after downloading the article *"Migrant in Vienna brutally raped 10-year-old boy: his disgusting excuse will make you vomit!!"* (in Slovak: *"Migrant zneužil dieťa: Nechutná výhovorka"* – after downloading the article: *"Migrant vo Viedni brutálne znásilnil 10-ročného chlapčeka: Jeho nechutná výhovorka vám zdvihne žlč!!"*) (cas.sk, 2016)

"Migrant abused and killed Maria: A startling finding" – after downloading the article *"Migrant raped and killed beautiful student Maria (†19): Another startling finding!"* (in Slovak: *"Migrant zneužil a zabil Máriu: Zarážajúce zistenie"*) – after downloading the article: *"Migrant znásilnil a zabil krásnu študentku Máriu (†19): Ďalšie zarážajúce zistenie!"*) (cas.sk, 2017)

"A migrant drowned in the Venice canal: Harsh reaction." – after downloading the article: „*Rough video from Venice: migrant (†22) drowned in the canal, you will be shocked by what happened there!"* (in Slovak: *"Migrant sa topil v benátskom kanáli: Drsné reakcie."* – after downloading the article: *"Drsné video z Benátok: Migrant (†22) sa topil v kanáli, z toho, čo sa tam dialo, budete v šoku!"*) (cas.sk, 2017)

Topky.sk

"Migrant (†22) drowned in Venice. Shocking VIDEO, people shouted "Let him die"" (in Slovak: *"Migrant (†22) sa utopil v Benátkach. Otrasné VIDEO, ľudia kričali „Nechajte ho zomrieť"*) (topky.sk, 2017)

"Migrant (20) confesses to raping a boy (10) at a swimming pool in Vienna! The details from the trial are astonishing." (in Slovak: *"Migrant (20) sa priznal k znásilneniu chlapca (10) na plavárni vo Viedni! Detaily zo súdu zarážajú."*) (topky.sk, 2016)

"The expelled migrant caused chaos at the international airport. Escape from the plane directly onto the runway." (in Slovak: *"Vyhostený migrant spôsobil chaos na medzinárodnom letisku. Únik z lietadla priamo na dráhu."*) (topky.sk, 2019)

It is already clear from the headlines that the Google search engine for the tabloid online media mentioned above considers relevant news that focused on the fate of migrants as individuals, not as a group. At least two reports have similar content. Both the headlines and the news stories in question are emotional and negative. The texts in the tabloid media analysed by us are relatively short.

The expressive vocabulary and emotionally tinged adjectives typical for tabloid media were used, such as *"horrible deed", "beautiful student", "lecherous Afghan", "shocking information"* (cas.sk, 2017), *"horrible atrocity", "terrible act", "brutal rape"* (cas.sk, 2016), as well as the figurative term *"hyena in human skin"* (cas.sk, 2017) which we consider redundant. The editors of the online media cas.sk used exclamation marks quite frequently in the reports analysed by us. To attract the attention of percipients, the editors of topky.sk chose exclamation marks, which were, presumably, intended to draw attention to the content of the video and thus increase interest in the perception of the article itself. The above texts from tabloid media cannot be considered as news, as the authors evaluate and comment on the presented information.

The sources of information were the Austrian tabloids Kronen Zeitung (cas.sk, 2016) and Kurier (topky.sk, 2016) and the German daily Die Welt (cas.sk, 2017). These are therefore not original articles. However, the selection of news related to migrants clearly confirms the intention of the media: to select negative news from foreign media, to intrigue and shock.

In the case of all the reports we have mentioned, the editors, whose names are not mentioned in the texts, paraphrased the statements of the accused and the court. The authors relied on foreign media reports, which they did not supplement with their own findings. The opinion of experts in the field of psychology or forensic science, for example, is absent. The texts we have analysed lack any information concerning, for example, the number of rapes and murders before and during the so-called migration crisis in the countries where the events took place, the representation of aggressors among the majority population, and so on.

We consider it questionable in the case of crimes to emphasize the origin of the perpetrator. Similarly, as if the perpetrator was a member of any minority or majority. Unnecessary emphasis on ethnicity or origin creates prejudices and stereotypes in society. In addition, the use of the ambiguous term 'migrant' can unjustifiably create fear among the public of any migrant, refugee or foreigner, regardless of their origin, reasons for migration and life problems.

Controversial neutrality of news

In the case of published reports, the issue of clearly classifying articles as negative, positive or neutral is a contentious one. In the case of reports on acts of violence, the classification is unambiguous (although the form of treatment is debatable). In the case of reports concerning a drowned migrant (cas.sk, 2017; topky.sk, 2017), the classification is not unambiguous. Reasoning:

- The news is sad rather than explicitly negative.
- The reports of witnesses of the incident who shouted at the drowning stranger expressions such as "It is better to let him die", "Go back home" (cas.sk, 2017) and "He is stupid, he wants to die" (topky.sk, 2017) were negative.
- The human attitude of the authors of the articles, who did not give their names, can be seen as positive, as they are indirectly critical of the people who did not save the drowning man.
- However, since the authors do not comment on or evaluate the reports, they could, despite the emotions used in the text, come across as neutral.

If, on the basis of the above-mentioned facts, in the case of the news analysed by us, we conclude that it is neutral news – its selection among all the events that occurred on a given day and the form of processing are not neutral. The authors chose a negative emotional event, in the processing of which the headlines erroneously state and emphasize that it was a migrant. Later, in the text, they specify that it was a foreigner who had been living in the country for two years and had a residence permit. We think that the report is so emotive that even a notional, non-national presentation of it, without unnecessary and misleading information concerning the victim's migration background, would be interesting – whatever its past, origin or nationality was. The selection of the event corresponds to the tabloid focus of the aforementioned media. Although the news reports in question can be seen as neutral in terms of content, the use of the term migrant in the headline cannot be seen like that.

Hate speech in media

For a comprehensive view of the forms of presentation in the online media, we lack the way we observed in the case of the internet medium hlavnespravy. sk. The aforementioned online medium is evaluated by other media and some analysts as conspiratorial (Kernová, 2019) or disinformation (Madleňák, 2020). However, in-depth analyses are lacking to confirm such a classification. To classify the aforementioned media as so-called alternative media or as radical alternative media, as characterized by Atton and Downing (Kenix, 2011), would require a more precise analysis of its content.

In the case of the issue we have analysed, we can classify hlavnespravy.sk as offensive or "hate speech" media. The reason why we classify it as one of the aforementioned media lies mainly in the choice of the way the issue is presented, including the headlines and the sources used. After typing in the term migrant, specifying the address of the media and searching the archive, the portal google. com offered us the texts with following headlines as relevant news:

"Migrant whose deportation by plane was stopped by young Swedish woman whipped his wife and daughters" (in Slovak: *"Migrant, ktorého deportáciu lietadlom zastavila mladá Švédka, bičoval svoju manželku a dcéry"*) (HSP, 2018)

"Migrant attacked mother and children after she foiled his robbery" (in Slovak: *"Migrant zaútočil na matku s deťmi po tom, čo mu prekazila lúpež"*) (HSP, 2016)

"Officers detain illegal migrant of Afghan origin" (in Slovak: *"Policajti zadržali nelegálneho migranta afgánskeho pôvodu"*) (TASR – HSP, 2020)

In the case of the last-named text, the text is a classic report, which the media, according to the description, took over from the TASR news agency. However, in the report itself, the source of the information is the Facebook page of the Police of the Slovak Republic (TASR – HSP, 2020). The vocabulary used is notional. The author briefly interprets the statement of the police without commenting.

The second relevant text, according to the search portal google.com, was identified as a report in which the Hlavné správy reported on an attack by a migrant in central Stockholm on a woman and her children who tried to stop him from stealing (HSP, 2016). In it, the portal's editors shared a video in which a man with black hair, a beard, attempts to rob a woman standing in front of him on the stairs. An unknown woman with small children tries to stop him from his act, to which the man responds by suggesting an attack that may have involved a blow to the head, but that is not certain from the footage. Hlavné správy reports do not specify the source of the video and information. In the absence of relevant verifiable information, we cannot consider the published video and information in the report to be reliable. The editors (the author of the report is not named) paraphrase the police response in which the man is referred to as the "perpetrator" not the migrant. The misleading or unconfirmed characterisation of the assailant as a migrant used in the headline of the report has, given the presentation of the issue, a clear negative connotation (HSP, 2016). The text of the report does not imply that the attacker is a migrant.

The first, according to google.com the most relevant text of the news portal hlavnespravy.sk, is a report questioning the efforts of people to protect refugees from deportation in correlation of their actions with the criminal proceedings of the asylum seeker himself. (HSP, 2018) Similarly, as with other texts we have already analysed, the ambiguous classification of perpetrators of crimes among a non-specific group of migrants can provoke unjustified prejudice and fear.

In the introduction to the report, the unidentified author reports on the actions of a Swedish activist who prevented the deportation of a refugee. The information is supplemented by praise from organisations, the public and the so-called mainstream media. It then questions and relativises her actions by highlighting the criminal acts of the asylum seeker, who should have been tried for violence against his wife and children.

In the case of the report in question, the source of the information paraphrased by the portal is questionable. The author mentions the respected Swedish journalist Frie Tider and the Swedish daily Nyheter Idag. Our research has revealed that Fria Tider is not a journalist, but the Swedish Internet media outlet friatider.se, which has been classified by the Swedish Media Council as part of a radical right-wing online environment with an apparent 'racist, xenophobic and Islamophobic vocabulary' (Statens Medierads, 2013, p. 60). The second source of information, the Swedish online media Nyheter Idag, is also questionable. Stubs and Ahlander of Reuters have classified it as a right-wing site (Stubs – Ahlander, 2018).

Regardless of the source of the information, the report we have analysed clearly attacks the people who help refugees and questions their actions. The fact that the approach of hlavnespravy.sk promotes prejudice against a group of people, specifically Roma, and questions the efforts of organisations in solving the problems with integration issues has been established in the recent past based on a qualitative analysis of the correlation between the presentation of stereotypes in the media, politicians' Facebook statuses, and the discussion of these stereotypes (Dobrotková et al., 2019).

With regard to the criminalisation of migrants and the negative content of the news, the news portal Hlavné správy and the tabloid media Čas and Topky may show

some similarities. However, the classification of hlavnespravy.sk as a classic tabloid media is challenged by the use of questionable and unnamed news sources, unverified information, as well as the use of so-called *"hate speech"* in the news analysed by us.

3. 5 FRAMING THE ISSUE OF MIGRANTS IN PHOTOGRAPHY

Photographs are another important part of the media image of any issue. Like the word, the camera is a neutral tool as well. It is the photographer's decision what frame to give to reality. Whether to focus on the individual, the interaction, or on the masses, on a smile, a cry, life or death, or on visible injuries. Photographs do not depict pure reality, but construct it with the photographer's approach.

Greenwood and Thomson analysed 811 photographs in their 2015 study on the framing of "people fleeing war and punishment" during the migration crisis. They divided them into six themes and 22 sub-themes. Most of the photographs (up to 280) were related to the transit of migrants, among which they counted the movement of individuals. The second group consisted of interaction (180 photos), including interactions with authorities, police officers, soldiers, as well as within the family. The fewest (39 photographs) were portraits of individual migrants. The fewest photographs within the sub-themes were of migrants engaged in play (5), washing, hygiene (4) and education (1). The highest number was recorded for photographs of migrants moving on foot or in boats (215 in total) (Greenwood – Thomson, 2019).

Also Lemme (2020, p. 234), based on an analysis of media images of migrants over the period 2006 to 2015, notes a sharp increase in the portrayal of migrants in large groups during the 2015 migration crisis. According to him, the mass becomes the primary depiction of migrants during the aforementioned period, including a certain anonymity caused by the greater distance from those photographed. Social distancing also manifests itself in the form of top/overhead photography.

Their findings were confirmed by a relatively simple Google search for photos related to migrants and refugees. After typing in the word "migrants", the internet search engine offered us photos dominated by larger groups and masses moving either on foot or in boats, or waiting with the presence of a fence or other barrier preventing their movement (Picture 1). Similar photographs also appeared when the term migrant was entered.

After entering the term refugees, we observed more photos with smaller groups of people, or families, with more focus on mutual interaction and emotions (Picture 1).

Picture 1. The difference of the image of migrants and refugees
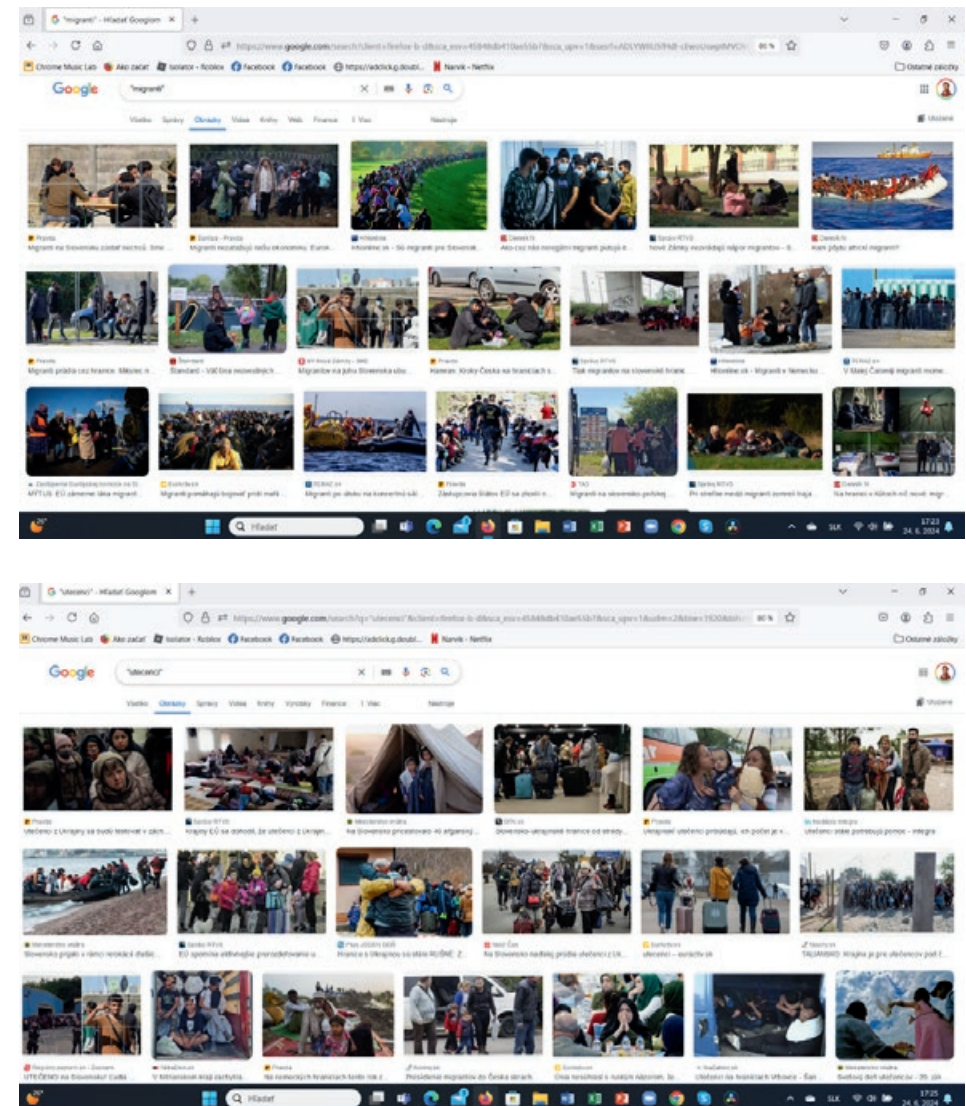
Source: google.com

Source: aktuality.sk

However, the use of news photography capturing the action does not have to be chosen in an explicitly manipulative way. Although, as we have already written, it may be up to the value priorities of the photographer and especially the editorial staff of the media outlet which photograph they use to illustrate events. The use of so-called illustrative photographs to accompany texts that have an explicitly manipulative connotation can be considered a manipulative approach.

The two texts analysed by us were accompanied by illustrative photographs, the use of which, in our opinion, is purposeful. In Picture 2 you can see the photograph that was used for Daniš's commentary in aktuality.sk, which we wrote about. The man, according to the caption of the photo, is supposed to represent an Islamist militant from Iraq. In correlation with the caption and the text of the commentary, it is clearly meant to depict a terrorist and his threat.

In the title of the commentary, the author used a combination of the words terrorism and migrants. By choosing a photograph with an aggressive connotation, it may have been the intention of the editor or the editors to evoke or promote fear of migrants, among whom terrorists may have moved into Europe.

The author of the commentary or the editors did not reach for a picture of the victims of the terrorists when choosing the illustrative photo, which would probably have also evoked emotions. However, these could have evoked feelings of compassion not only for the victims of the attacks in Europe but around the world, which would have encouraged compassion for migrants as well. We have already analysed the comment itself.

What is interesting for the topic of our monograph is the possible connotation of a photograph that was part of a hate speech report by Hlavné správy media with the headline "*Migrant whose deportation was stopped by a young Swedish woman, whipped his wife and daughters*" (HSP, 2018). The photograph shows the face of the activist who prevented the deportation of the migrant and the face of the presumably mentioned migrant with his eyes covered. The said activist, a young woman, is crying in the published photograph. Crying can be an expression of sadness but also of joy. However, based on the overall facial expression, we conclude that she is crying. This fact in itself would be meaningless if, in analysing the connotation, we did not perceive the correlation with the headline and the content of the message. Because of the connection of the report to the criminal proceedings of the migrant whose deportation the activist was supposed to prevent, the choice of the aforementioned photograph could evoke a feeling of guilt in the aforementioned activist – and in the media a feeling that helping migrants leads to tears and feelings of guilt. If the editors or the author had chosen to use a photograph of a smiling activist, the connotation would have taken on a different meaning. Perhaps mockery, but also disinterest and contempt. We do not know the reason for the choice of photographs. We can only assume them based on their correlation with the choice of text, caption (headline), and philosophy of the medium.

Picture 3. Manipulatively chosen photos

Na snímke vľavo dievča, ktoré zastavilo deportáciu muža vpravo

Source: hlavnespravy.sk

3.6 NEED TO INTEGRATE MIGRANTS THROUGH MEDIA

In the context of the media's relationship to migration, migrants, refugees or foreigners, we consider it important to mention the integrative function of the mass media. The importance of the integrative function of the mass media in Slovakia, primarily because of its correlation with the social and space proximity of the media events, has been attributed primarily to regional or local media. (Tušer, 2007; Waschková Císařová, 2013) However, nowadays, primarily because of the intercultural integration of social groups and the problem of stereotyping, it is also associated with national media and the so-called ethnomedia. (Moravec 2010; Geissler, 2014, 2010; Geissler – Pöttker, 2009)

Professor Tušer names three basic functions of mass media: informational, orientational and integrative (Tušer, 2007, p. 24). According to him, it is the regional media that are most prominent in the process of integration. The integrative function, as understood by him, arises from

"its attractiveness, based on the proximity of the issue about which the citizen is informed by the media and on its ability to cultivate his regional or local identity... the closer the event is to the addressee, the more interesting the news about this event is for him" (Tušer, 2007, p. 25).

In the German professional literature, the integrating function is also associated with the national media and with the issue of the integration of social groups – in the case of Germany, especially migrants. However, it is also applicable to the Slovak realities and to coexistence with, for example, Roma ethnic groups, Ukrainians, but also Arabs and other national but also social groups: whether physically or mentally handicapped people, the elderly, and so on.

Through the media, percipients are exposed to events that do not take place in their own environment, and through their mediation, their knowledge and experiences are broadened, not only in the fields of culture and geography, but also in the lives of social and cultural minorities. Without personal experience, an individual living in close proximity to a group of non-integrated persons cannot imagine that minority representatives can have a university education and be beneficial to society.

At the same time, the integrative function of the media is understood as a way of providing information to social groups of the state's population, including national and ethnic minorities and foreigners. Rainer Geissler considers the principle of social and cultural integration to be *"unity in difference."* It is thus *"intercultural integration."* However, he does not mean *"multiculturalism,"* which he characterizes as *"a kind of living side by side without trying to coexist"* (Geissler, 2010, p. 5).

He sees integration as an emphasis on shared relationships. He links the exchange of cultural identities with the building of common rules, language and social values, with equal chances of participation in important areas of life and active acceptance by society. Although the concept of integration and inclusion is mainly encountered in the fields of pedagogy and sociology, the terms segregation, similative media integration and intercultural media integration can also be found in media studies. Yet, according to Geissler, *"the latter is desirable in the case of an integratively understanding media system"* (Geissler, 2010, p. 5).

The media can support or hinder integration processes, especially through the way they cover minority issues. They can have a positive impact, for example by reporting on integration itself, and a negative impact by creating stereotypes and negative perceptions of the *"other"*. However, in order to achieve a productive, positive form of coexistence with minorities, uncritical media portrayals are not desirable. A fair handling of topics about them is expected. This requirement is particularly important when it comes to the media coverage of violent acts that arouse emotions of fear and revulsion in the percipients.

When the perpetrator is a member of a minority group, the media tend to mention the ethnic or social origin of the perpetrator. However, there is no obvious reason that requires such information in media communications, so the media should refrain from it.

In an integrative approach, it is important that particular social groups are able to locate themselves in the media, whether for the sake of highlighting their problems or for the sake of informing them. According to Dorer and Marschink, these points are important in integrating minorities by media:

- fair reporting instead of the dominance of negative images;
- integration of media offers to help minorities (social groups) to integrate into society;
- the involvement of media professionals belonging to an ethnic (or other social) minority and their participation in the production of media output;
- the production of news and journalism that is more concerned with the background and reasons for minority integration problems, and the thematisation of the potentials for integration and problem solving (Dorer – Marschink, 2006).

According to Geissler, media content in the media is interculturally integrative in the case of:

- if it shows ethnic diversity as a social normality;
- if, in the case of the treatment of integration issues, the media are oriented towards its active acceptance;
- when the problems and difficulties of integration are presented in balance with its opportunities and successes;
- when members of ethnic minorities with their problems are found in the media, for example in the persons of presenters, editors and actors;
- and if the media content of ethnic media is intercultural, i.e. if it does not concentrate only on the culture of its own ethnic group, or if it does not present the culture of the majority population only in a negative image, but especially if it offers help for the specific problems of ethnic groups (Geissler, 2010, pp. 10–11).

3. 7 IMPORTANCE OF PUBLIC SERVICE MEDIA IN THE INTEGRATION OF MIGRANTS

Because of their importance, especially from a political and social point of view, public service media are particularly important in the context of social integration. The private media, because of their philosophy of offering an "integrating" agenda – everything for everyone and therefore for no one – appeal to the need for high ratings, dependence on commercial revenues and the tastes of the percipients.

Media analyst Lucht (2006, pp. 28–29) includes the integrative or participatory function among the important functions of public service media. Václav Moravec is of the same opinion, going even further in the integration of social groups, and citing the integration of social groups as one of the principles "on which the existence of public service media is based. It is precisely the current concept of public service media that is being questioned in the era of the digitalisation of radio and television broadcasting (or the significant expansion of the number of radio and television stations)", he named inclusion. However, according to Moravec, a redefinition of the value system of public service media and a new look at the concept of media coverage of social exclusion and social inclusion is a prerequisite (Moravec, 2010, p. 17).

The European Broadcasting Union (EBU), of which the Slovak public service media is also a member, considers universality to be one of the fundamental values of public service media, which aims at:

- offer content to all sectors of society without exclusion – everyone everywhere;
- emphasise the importance of sharing and expressing a plurality of views and ideas;
- striving to create a public sphere in which all citizens can form their own opinions and ideas inclusion and social cohesion;
- sharing content in all possible ways – accessible to all;
- and enabling every individual to engage and participate in a democratic society (EBU, 2012, p. 4).

The Slovak public service media broadcasts programmes on the second channel at regular intervals, aimed at different social groups of percipients: the hearing impaired, the elderly, national minorities, people with disabilities, the Roma. Their content is mostly reports on their lives and information on the solution of specific problems. They often focus on the needs of specific percipients, members of a given social group.

Migrants have been covered in the past by the Slovak public service media in the migrant and migration magazine "Tu sme doma" ("Here We Are at Home"). The content of the magazine „Tu sme doma" was the profiles of migrants living and working in Slovakia originally from Africa, South America and Asia. The aim of the magazine was to bring their representatives closer to the majority through their life stories of migration, experiences with integration, insights into their working and family lives. These were not programmes primarily aimed at migrants, as we classify them as ethnomedia in their integration function. However, their integrative function can be seen through the communication of information about foreigners from more distant cultures to the majority population.

The predecessor of the programme "Tu sme doma" ("Here We Are at Home"), which was broadcast by RTVS between 2014 and 2015, was the "Integruj" ("Integrate") magazine, whose focus was primarily educational. The individual episodes, which were broadcast at monthly intervals, were linked to each other and, similarly to the "Tu sme doma" programme, presented the issue of migration and the life of foreigners in Slovakia. News or journalistic programmes on the life of migrants in Slovakia are sporadic. The last "Tu sme doma" programme was broadcast in April 2016.

The absence of regular programmes and journalistic programmes focused on migration issues, especially in times of the European migration crisis, is noticeable and we consider it to be a major shortcoming. The sporadic inclusion of the issue in discussion programmes will not allow the majority percipient to form a real and comprehensive picture of the "foreigners" living in Slovakia, the problems of integration and the possibilities of solving them.

"A necessary condition is the mutual cooperation of experts who deal with the issue of social inclusion and the management of public service media... without which the process of inclusion will remain marginalised – and not only by the public service media" (Moravec, 2010, p. 21).

As for the radio, the Slovak public service broadcaster broadcasts programmes at regular intervals aimed at particular social groups of the population, including national and ethnic minorities. It is worth commending not only the regular broadcasts of a programme for the Roma in the Roma language, but also a programme for Ukrainian refugees in the Ukrainian language.

3. 8   OTHER AUDIOVISUAL WORKS ABOUT MIGRATION AND MIGRANTS

Among other audiovisual media outputs that could be classified as integrative in the context of the presentation of migrants and refugees, we consider the materials offered by the International Organization for Migration, which is part of the intergovernmental organization International Organization for Migration in Slovakia, on its website.

In 2012 – 2013, they implemented the project „Aj my sme tu doma" ("We are here at home too"), the aim of which was to present balanced and well-founded information about foreigners living in Slovakia. In addition to educational outputs, the project also produced a document on migration and the life of migrants in Slovakia. Although, according to the description, along with other materials, it was intended primarily for lecturers and teachers, it is still available to the general public on the Internet (IOM Slovakia, 2013).

Source: youtube.com

Later on, podcasts with the subtitle "Aj my sme tu doma 2" ("We are here at home too 2") were added, in which various influencers interviewed foreigners living in Slovakia originally from Ukraine, Ivory Coast and Iran (IOM Slovakia, 2022). The stories of foreigners living in Slovakia can also be found on the YouTube channel of the Human Rights League (hrl.sk) in the form of interviews in text form on hrl.sk, islamonline.sk. The websites of IOM Slovakia and the Human Rights League Slovakia, as well as their profiles on the social networks Youtube, Facebook and Instagram, can be considered as perhaps the only integration media for foreigners and asylum seekers in Slovakia at the moment, particularly with regard to the information they provide in English and Ukrainian. Stories of migrants, refugees and foreigners living in Slovakia (not only) can also be found on social networks. However, percipients must be interested in searching for them.

3.9 EVALUATION

Based on research on the image of Muslims in Switzerland, media analyst Ettinger formulated six specific requirements for news coverage that are also applicable to reporting on migrants:

1. Avoid simplification in terms of thematic context and perspectives.
2. To allow the diversity of involved actors, their views and perspectives to be presented.
3. To critically emphasise the problems of coexistence between majority and minority societies, and avoid generalisation and essentialisation.
4. Justify criticism of the behaviour of majority or minority actors, and the resulting demands for change in their behaviour.
5. To use a factual way of producing news reports.
6. To convey contextual information to better understand the behaviour of individuals (Ettinger, 2018).

For us, we also find it important to consider the need to point to the origin (whether ethnic, national or religious) of the perpetrator of a criminal act, which can lead to prejudice and stereotyping. Especially, if, when the majority of participants act in the same way, their origin, including their faith, is not mentioned. Also consider the use of the ambiguous, non-specific and generalizing term migrant, without specifying the reasons for escape or migration, considering that at some point every individual is a migrant."

However, the need for society-wide integration does not diminish the importance of integration through regional media. Regional and local media can contribute to integration primarily through their proximity to specific social groups and minorities. They are much more direct than the state media on the issue of coexistence. Nevertheless, they only partially fulfil their role.

Višňovský and Baláž (2012, pp. 104–120) in their research found a correlation of positive news and achievements presented in the Municipal Newspaper of Žiar nad Hronom with the agenda of the city's inhabitants, but on the other hand, they admitted that the municipal newspaper does not address in its content the problem that the inhabitants perceive as the most important – the issue of coexistence with the Roma. As Professor Geissler (2014) stated, mass media and media products can make a much more significant contribution to integration than they have done so far. The media face the challenge of reducing the negativity of topics about social and ethical groups and bringing negative and positive contexts into an adequate balance. Integration problems cannot be tabooed, but they certainly should not be dramatized. The inevitability of integration, its possibilities and its successes must be given more space in the media.

4 THEME OF MIGRATION AND ITS REFLECTION IN THE POLITICAL SUBJECTS OF THE SLOVAK REPUBLIC

4.1 DICHOTOMOUS VIEW OF THE WORLD

Since its inception, the world has been distinguished by its diversity, which has become a necessary condition for its evolution, in the case of so-called inanimate nature, plants, fauna and mankind itself. Homo Sapiens, from the earliest days of his own existence, was faced with two conceptions. One considered plurality as an asset, the other as a negative. The Persian prophet, painter and poet Mani (216 – 277), who in his own way combined Zoroastrianism, Buddhism and Christianity, propagated a polarising dichotomous view of social phenomena linked to messianism. In seven books written in the 3rd century, he stressed the dualism of good and evil, light and dark, day and night, soul and body, god and devil. The human soul is the child of light, the body comes from darkness. Christian thought rejected his teachings, but it also did not shy away from exacerbating dualism. The polarizing dichotomy is lucid, intelligible and easy to accept. It does not require great intellectual effort. It identifies the culprit of our failures without much effort. Several psychiatrists (Okrúhlica, 2011, pp. 65–77) consider convenience and laziness to be addictions. Forming an opinion other than the publicly presented one requires considerable mental strength. It requires not only reading comprehension, making comparisons, evaluating sources of argument, studying more deeply, and often seeing with one's own eyes. Comfort and socio-psychological stereotypes hinder this attitude. What we do not know, what is not written about and spoken about publicly in our environment often does not seem to exist. The tense polarity is exacerbated by the absence of real objective mutual knowledge, even in the age of the Internet, the technological explosion of mass media, mass tourism and pre-conceived emotional attitudes.

Politics is rarely combined with creative intellectual work. It uses the techniques and effects of mass culture, which, unlike real culture, promotes uniformity or outward motley at the expense of plurality and colourful multiplicity, global quantity instead of universal quality, the creation of socio-psychic stereotypes instead of their destruction, enjoyment instead of creative experience, commerciality and financial gain at the expense of quality, etc. A sense of principle, depth of experience and unrehearsed feelings are lost. Companies that organise client experiences (so-called experience studios, outdoor commercial entities) thrive economically. The cult of design suppresses the sense of quality of content. Analysis and rivalry of ideas are absent in the media discussions of the so-called elites. Rather, they resemble a rapid succession of video clips and character play. Their actors are required to have the qualities of a superman who, with one blow, step, law or personal proposal, will solve the burning social and

perhaps even global problems of mankind. The educated person whose lifestyle demands a completely different approach (incremental learning, ascending, verifying, regressing) becomes useless and often dangerous.

However, in a competitive environment, free consumers do not automatically prefer higher quality production. The mediocre advertising on any television channel demonstrates what criteria are being enforced in the purchase of products. Similarly, the mere existence of free competition between political entities does not ensure that we choose competent representatives. Many television screens create a cult of impersonality. In an objective conflict of "interests versus knowledge", the new politicians choose the easier one. They have renounced their own intellectual credibility. They have leaned heavily towards the vision of cold-blooded power. They have thus signed the beginning of a process of de-intellectualization that is still ongoing. Plato was wrong to suggest that philosophers should rule. Politics is a pragmatic matter, it requires practical men of action. On the other hand, a personality, a group, a party, a nation, a society without intellectual self-reflection, in which the highly educated and productive class has an indispensable function, degenerates.

At the United Nations, Pakistan's Malala Yousufzai, the youngest recipient of the 2014 Nobel Peace Prize, who was not stopped from spreading awareness among women under the Hindu Kush and Karakoram by a Taliban bullet shot in the head, said: *"Extremists are afraid of books, the power of education scares them. The book and the pen are our most powerful weapons"* (Bodkova, 2017). Accepting the Sakharov Prize, awarded by the European Parliament, in November 2013, she stated: *"A powerful country is not one that has more weapons and more soldiers. A powerful country has more educated and skilled people."* (Yousufzai, 2013) The diminishing respect for education and a knowledge-based society also translates into public discourse, where many terms expressing radical to extreme attitudes are used arbitrarily in mainstream polemics. These are mainly terms linked to ethnic intolerance, terrorism and extremism, etc. This obscures phenomena and real processes whose content would merit extreme terms.

4. 2   FEAR OF THE UNKNOWN

The Austrian-German ethologist Lorenz, Nobel Prize winner in 1973, explained the root cause of aggressive attitudes. It lies not so much in the familiar food chain cycle between predators and victims, but in a defensive reflex based on fear of the unknown. This fear relies on a natural instinct, forging risky steps in an unfamiliar environment. Lorenz, despite the simplification and biologization of human commonality, was not wrong when he wrote that a living creature that does not intuitively or rationally know the laws and character of the environment in which it lives suffers from unfreedom and anxiety. Man, unlike the animal, is endowed with, among other things, infinite imagination and fantasy, which enables him even to demonize the unknown.

A classic example of the unknown but evoking strong negative emotions is Siberia. Hours away, sparsely inhabited or uninhabited by humans, a cold and harsh landscape, i.e. unsuitable for the survival of statistically predominantly civilised man, is certainly said to be inhuman and evil-causing as well. Mass media values imbued with strong anthropocentrism[2] spread this idea despite the fact that inland Siberia, although experiencing cold winters, has hotter summer months and a much more vibrant nature compared to that preserved in Europe at similar latitudes.

The classical television viewer, trained to passively and trustingly *digest* information from those who disseminate it without their own experience and active analysis, acquires negative emotions when the word *Siberia* is uttered. Stalin's labour camps have become part of the Western awareness of the country. The media label the innocent Siberian country as an accomplice. In doing so, the first concentration camps built by British colonizers during the Second Boer War from 1899 to 1902 for the indigenous population and their Nazi continuation, built on the old continent in higher concentration, persist in our historical consciousness, but not as a symbolic marker of Africa or Europe (Krno, 2016, p. 117).

He describes the atrocities he himself committed as bestial or inhuman. Thus, the perpetrator is supposed to be someone else. The term *atrocities*[3] is used by Czechs, Serbs, Bulgarians, Russians and Belarusians in addition to Slovaks (Ukrainians have a similar word *звірство*, Macedonians *атверство* and Latvians *zvērības*). Europeans, and not only them, often use the naming of the very animals that they have domesticated (enslaved) to bring them more comfort, used as a common swear word (dog, bitch, horse, donkey, camel, ox, cow, goat, ram, pig, hen, goose, etc.).

---

[2]   Anthropocentrism has much deeper roots in the old continent compared, for example, to the religious and philosophical traditions of Himalayan thought, which is also based on substantially different traditions (Krno, 2014).

[3]   Anthropocentrism easily leads to speciesist, biological racism.

4. 3   TRADITIONS OF RACISM

The European continent enriched human thought in the 19th century with the greatest number of giants of the spirit. Few of us realise, as we grapple with our present problems, that it has also produced quite a few prominent proponents of biological racism. We are not referring to just two well-known textbook examples. The French diplomat, anthropologist and writer Joseph Arthur Comte de Gobineau wrote about the superiority of the white race in his "Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines" ("Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races") (1853 – 855). His more obscure successor was the British philosopher with a strong Germanophile orientation, Chamberlain[4]. In his life's work, "Die Grundlagen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts" ("The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century"), he sought to convince the reader that so-called Western civilization owed its maturity to the superior Germanic tribes. Many other writers who have actually advanced our and the world's thinking and action have not been able to escape from this approach.

India serves as an example, where colonialism relied on two main ideological wellsprings. The first, determinative in practical politics, entailed a radical interpretation of Calvinist-Presbyterian predestination. Open racism proclaimed the superiority of Anglo-Saxon culture over other European nations (Néhrú, 1957, p. 301) and even more so over Indies. Its fruits were park benches and carriages in trains designed for the one and only correct skin colour, as well as massacres in the suppression of indigenous people's defiance. The concept of the master race (*herrenvolk*) contributed to the emergence of the later Holocaust. According to Hegel:

"The essential character of the India consists of cunning and cunningness; deceit, theft, robbery, murder are among his morals. Before the conqueror and the master he grovels meanly and meekly, but towards the conquered he is utterly unscrupulous and cruel. It is characteristic of Indus's humanity that he does not kill any animal, that he establishes and maintains rich hospitals for animals, especially for old cows and monkeys, but that not a single institution for the sick and weak is to be found in the whole country. The Indians will not trample on an ant, but they will let poor wanderers perish indifferently. The Brahmins are particularly naughty. The English say they only eat and sleep. When their customs do not forbid them something, they indulge their urges completely. When they interfere in public life, they are rapacious, deceitful,

adorable. They are submissive to those whom they fear and serve their time in submission. I know not an honest man among them, said an Englishman. Children honour their parents; a son abuses his mother" (Hegel, 1958, p. 429).

The last words of the great philosopher, without whom we cannot explain modern political thought and social movements, are perplexing. According to India's first prime minister and philosopher Nehru:

"The British are an insular nation. A long period of success and prosperity has taught them to look down on almost everyone else. For them, as someone put it, 'les négras commencent á Calias' (The Negroes begin in Calalis). Presumably the upper echelons of the British population would divided by the world like this:

1. *Britain and then nothing for a long time,*
2. *the British Dominions (but only white population) and America (only Anglo-Saxons, not Italians, Portuguese and others),*
3. *Western Europe,*
4. *the rest of Europe,*
5. *the Latin peoples in the Americas, then again nothing for a long time, and finally,*
6. *the brown, yellow and black peoples of Asia and Africa, all more or less lumped together"* (Néhrú, 1958, p. 429).

The second, more moderate approach was more common among the educated, often humanistically oriented, who believed that Indians were incapable of independence, "uncopetent", backward, anti-liberal and destined to be "helped" by a higher civilization. It was a cultural colonialism of which Kipling was a representative. This winner of the 1907 Nobel Prize for Literature enriched world literature, especially with short stories and poems. He became an exquisite storyteller, a brilliant painter of human souls, characters and figures from India as well as from other parts of the world. He both knew and sincerely liked the land below the southern slopes of the Himalayas, but the local inhabitants, he saw them as eternally "uncivilized" civilizationally backward children with anti-liberal attitudes who cannot act independently and who are destined to be "helped" by the so-called higher civilization, he saw them as eternally immature children dependent on the help of grown-ups. In his famous poem "The White Man's Burden" (1899), he sees the British as the bearer of a culture with a higher

---

[4]   Houston Stewart Chamberlain married Eva Wagner, whose father was the world-famous composer, versatile artist and at the same time outspoken nationalist anti-Semite Wilhelm Richard Wagner.

moral mission to re-educate and guide the "savage" Indians, to remake them in his image, without asking them if they are interested in the British mission and if so, what kind of help they are interested in.

> *"Take up the White Man's burden*
> *Send forth the best ye breed*
> *Go bind your sons to exile*
> *To serve your captives' need;*
> *To wait in heavy harness*
> *On fluttered folk and wild*
> *Your new-caught, sullen peoples,*
> *Half devil and half child."* (Kipling, 1899)

This second approach often persists even where we seek to help the developing world. In public discourse, terms such as Europe, European and Europeanisation are often automatically associated with a positive content, even in the vocabulary of officials of European structures, and as an opposition to another, geographically and culturally distant, meaningfully negative word. Thus, unconsciously, sometimes even consciously, impulses for the persistence of prejudices against otherness enter the subconscious.

> *"The terms 'West' and 'East' are usually spoken in both professional and lay publics with sincerity, confidence and vigour. They are not perceived as neutral categories. They are man-made as opposed to the North-South pair, which exists without our convention. Although they evoke strong positive or negative feelings and attitudes in the population, a part of it is willing to make a sacrifice towards them, but, as in the case of the nation, their geographical, historical and value definition is not clear-cut. Western values are usually associated by their adherents with liberal democracy, individual freedom and responsibility, self-activity, pragmatism, multicultural tolerance, a thriving market economy, technological progress and peaceful stability. The East is seen as the antithesis, the cradle of authoritarianism, imposed collectivism, passivity, cultural intolerance, backward economics and technology, impracticality, chaos, civil and neighbourhood wars, and the unpredictability of violence"* (Krno, 2016, p. 116).

Traditional biological racism speaks of the biological predetermination of unequal human races and also of putative human races (e.g. the attitude of racists from the so-called white population towards Roma, Indians, Arabs or Jews). According to him, racial affiliation itself determines the positive or negative characteristics of individuals and entire large population groups. More modern, cultural racism has done away with dependence on so-called biological determinism, but works with the notion of both the so-called unequal development and the unequal nature of human cultures. A person brought up and educated in a cultural environment is said to be doomed not to transgress its boundaries and often to negative characteristics. In discussions, and often from the mouths of outspoken critics of intolerance (under the slogan 'I cannot be tolerant towards the intolerant') and extreme nationalism, racism can be sensed. In an age of the evaporation of knowledge of political philosophy from the consciousness not only of the broad masses but also of the political elites, in an age not of substantive but of anti-intellectual de-ideologisation, common dissenting opinions are negatively ideologised. The remnants of classical ideologies, political symbols, and events and personalities purposely drawn out and interpreted do not serve to deepen knowledge, but as a weapon in "sabre-rattling" and slandering the adversary. Political, electoral and ideological opponents are attributed a priori universally recognised negative qualities even in non-political spheres (my opponent is uneducated, rude, insidious, constantly lies, misleads, socially disturbed, certainly grew up in a broken family, etc.).

When criticizing undesirable political phenomena abroad, mainstream critics often utter terms such as "democratic nation" and or "civilized nation" as having positive connotations and as opposed to so-called natural or savage ethnicities. There is a so-called evolutionary racism at work here. This approach is neither unique nor new. The ancient Greeks introduced the term barbarian (probably from the word *barbaroi* – bird gobbler), which they used to refer to unintelligible-speaking foreigners. During the Greco-Persian wars, it increasingly took on a negative connotation. The Romans (*barbarus*) and others after them adopted it into their vocabulary. Barbarian was crude, inhuman, uncivilized, and anciently uneducated.

These manifestations were also pointed out by modern thinkers. The French philosopher, writer, and educator Rousseau, while acknowledging the contrasting mental world and life styles of the bourgeois and Corsican hillbilly, interpreted this in exactly the opposite way to the official public opinion of his time. He idealised the social conditions in Corsica. Incidentally, the first democratic constitution in Europe to come from the pen of a Corsican nationalist was written in Italian in November 1755 by a team led by the nationalist Pascal Paoli. The little-influential island thus overtook the USA (September 17, 1787), Poland (May 3, 1791) and France (September 3, 1791). However, textbooks rarely write about this.

Rousseau inspired other leading French writers. Flaubert distinguished between the denizens of a corrupt modern civilization and noble savages. He considered the Corsicans who took to crooked paths in Macchia to be honest bandits (bandit d'honneur). After visiting the Laurelli brothers hiding in the hamlet of Fiumorbo, he wrote that:

"they have... a mighty and valiant heart that beats alone in the free forests... ...no doubt purer and nobler than most Frenchmen have... The bandit stood at the back of my room... He was a fine young man, well dressed and good looking. His right hand rested on his rifle. He greeted us with reserved politeness. We looked at each other for a moment in embarrassment... At first glance he looked pleasant" (Flaubert, 1960, pp. 38–139).

De Maupassant, used the Corsican motif in several works. He described the features of robbery and blood revenge in the short story "Un Bandit Corse" (1882). The Corsican robbers became the idol of many other visitors to the island. The lower classes saw them as the last possibility of expected justice. They often helped them. Many rich ladies fell in love with the robbers. They considered them real men. Corsica was no different from central Europe.

The American Thoreau, the Russian Tolstoy and the Indian Gandhi joined the rejection of the idealisation of so-called civility. The French ethnographer Lévi-Strauss rehabilitated the term primitive. Fontelles (1947), High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, at the launch of European Diplomatic Academy on October 13, 2022, delivered an opening speech with a long reflection on the relationship of the intrigued majority of Europe to the seven-billion-strong majority of the rest of the world, which begins with the words:

„Here, Bruges is a good example of the European garden. Yes, Europe is a garden. We have built a garden. Everything works. It is the best combination of political freedom, economic prosperity and social cohesion that the humankind has been able to build – the three things together. And here, Bruges is maybe a good representation of beautiful things, intellectual life, wellbeing. The rest of the world – and you know this very well, Federica – is not exactly a garden. Most of the rest of the world is a jungle, and the jungle could invade the garden. The gardeners should take care of it, but they will not protect the garden by building walls. A nice small garden surrounded by high walls in order to prevent the jungle from coming in is not going to be

a solution. Because the jungle has a strong growth capacity, and the wall will never be high enough in order to protect the garden. The gardeners have to go to the jungle. Europeans have to be much more engaged with the rest of the world. Otherwise, the rest of the world will invade us, by different ways and means. Yes, this is my most important message: we have to be much more engaged with the rest of the world. We are privileged people. We built a combination of these three things – political freedom, economic prosperity, social cohesion – and we cannot pretend to survive as an exception. It has to be a way of supporting the others facing the big challenges of our time" (audiovisual.ec.europa.eu, 2023).

The term jungle comes from the Sanskrit word jaṅgala (जङ्गल). In its current meaning, it refers to dense humid equatorial and tropical forests with not only dense vegetation but also fauna. In its broader meaning, impenetrable forest cover also ranges closer to the Earth's poles. It was popularised by the aforementioned Kipling (1865 – 1936) in his novel "The Jungle Book" (1894), in which he portrayed the world of native animals as a utopian idyll in which every individual has a place and in which everyone works together. This English writer, winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature, followed the Russian naturalist and philosopher, Kropotkin (1842 – 1921), who argued that mutualism and cooperation, but not competition, prevailed among animals from the Amazon basin to the Siberian River in what is now Buryatia, where he undertook exploratory expeditions (Kropotkin, 1907, pp. 21–42). According to him, here, in the land of harmony, there is no room for the exacerbated human egoism described by Hobbes (1588 – 1679). The Roman satirist Titus Maccius Plautus (254 – 184 B. C.), in his play "Asinaria" (The Comedy of Asses), used the saying Lupus est homo homini, non homo, quom qualis sit non novit (Wolf is the man for man, not man, when he does not know who is the other), which was revived by the aforementioned Hobbes.

The term jungle carries a metaphor. It has a distinctly negative connotation. By urban jungle we mean slums on the outskirts of megapolises, where the inhabitants live in inhuman conditions. The figurative term jungle denotes a world with an exacerbated competitive system that lacks fairness or any rules, and in which the stronger, but especially the more insidious and amoral, defeats the weaker and more decent. American writer and politician Sinclair Jr. (1878 – 1968) in "The Jungle" (1906), a realistic naturalistic novel about a meat processing factory in Chicago in which workers worked under terrible sanitary conditions and without social insurance. He wrote the book in the form of realistic reportage in which he avoided what we now call political correctness. He used a method called muckraking.

Borrell's reflection carries a lingering negative symbolism. He unwittingly continues in the tradition of moderate cultural racism, which, unlike biological racism, does not take an extreme form. It also corresponds to the concept of Calvinist-Presbyterian predestination. Orientalism became the ideological continuation of cultural racism. This concept was expanded by Said (1935 – 2003), an American literary scholar of Palestinian origin working in the USA. In his best-known work, he mentions the basic four tenets of Orientalism:

"...firstly, there is a fundamental systemic difference between the rational, developed, humane world of the West and the out-of-the-norm, backward, and generally inferior Orient. Secondly, abstractions concerning the Orient, especially those based on texts depicting 'classical' Oriental civilization, are always of greater value than direct testimony to modern Oriental reality. Thirdly, the Orient is timeless, homogeneous, and incapable of arriving at its own essence; thus, in describing the Orient from a Western point of view, the use of a highly general and systematic vocabulary is inevitable and scientifically 'objective'. Fourthly, by its very nature, the Orient represents something to be feared (the Yellow Peril, the Mongol hordes, the independence of the colonies) or to be controlled (by pacification, research, development or outright occupation, if possible)" (Said, 2008).

Orientalist statements and behaviors treat most of the world as an equal partner. It does not undermine security relations. The attitude of many developing and formerly developing countries towards the current war in Ukraine is not born out of sympathy with the Kremlin's international policy, but is related to long-standing efforts to recognise equality. India's Foreign Minister Jaishankar (1955) stated during the Globsec 2022 Bratislava Forum in Bratislava (Slovakia) on June 3, 2022 that Europe needs to get rid of the notion that, "*Europe thinks that Europe´s problems are the worlds problems but world´s problems are not Europe´s problems*."

Effective and creative debate is difficult to promote in such an environment. Controversy with the above concepts is complicated by aggressiveness in verbal expression. And this is not only growing on social networks, but also on the official floor of the highest political institutions and in the official mass media. These spaces negatively influence each other. The vocabulary is visibly getting ruder. Many discussions on standard political issues are tinged with whipped-up polarity and personalised hatred. Opponents are ostracized and labeled even as they bid farewell to the earthly world. It is forgotten that society and the diseases within it take on many dimensions. Many, even those who fear nationally tinged movements and simple, forceful solutions, are quick to label the problem and offer an even simpler and quicker

solution. Although they are afraid of nationalists and use a very different vocabulary, they also come to stereotypical fundamentalist conclusions. Sometimes it looks as if it is not a question of solving social problems, but of mental inward venting.

4. 4   MIGRATION AND THE EUROPEAN UNION

As Mészárosová-Lampl wrote (2019, p. 4):

"The so-called migration crisis of 2015 and 2016, during which more than one million people arrived in the EU, according to the European Commission, has sharpened the focus of all segments of European societies and, as a result, many negative connotations are attached to foreign migration in public communication. However, the social phenomenon of migration itself is value-indifferent, even though it can have both positive (economic recovery, offsetting the demographic crisis, etc.) and negative (human trafficking, migration motivated by the use of the public insurance system, etc.) impacts."

According to the United nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), at the end of 2014 there were nearly sixty million refugees registered across the globe. A desperate interest in the old continent has caused its old and present sins. Colonialism unlearned to govern ourselves. Unequal economic relations make it difficult to overcome economic backwardness. Direct and indirect military interventions by some great powers have triggered an uncontrollable process of destruction. Three and a half thousand unfortunates perished in the year in question in attempts to illegally cross into Europe, more than perished under the fateful twin towers in September 2001. These figures require cool heads and strategic solutions, not dilettantism. It is not surprising that the hasty, late, bad and communication-ridden decision on refugee quotas has outraged not only the aggressive minority but also the moderate majority.

Not only the traditional institutions of democracy within states, but also the European Union itself, for all the beautiful idea from which it was born, is losing authority year by year. This can also be seen in the long-term trends of declining voter turnout in the election of Members of the European Parliament in most Member States. The Slovak Republic has been 'number one' in this respect four times (17%, 19%, 13% and 22%), and in none of these cases have these figures provoked a cool, substantive debate both internationally and nationally. The influence of radical

national, anti-integration and anti-immigration parties is growing. Instead of anticipating, its complacent representatives seek only to extinguish many problems. And sometimes with oil. It is as if they are catching development by the tail. Sociologist and former member of European Parliament Keller distinguishes four phases of the response of EU institutions and leaders to the rising tide of migration:

1. support of migration management,
2. humanitarian panic,
3. pressure to adopt quotas and
4. mutual remorse (Keller, 2017, pp. 14–41).

We recognise people, movements and large groupings of states when they can act as freely as possible and when they find themselves in crisis. The European Union has emerged from states that are more or less managing their internal democratic arrangements, but is itself experiencing a significant democratic deficit. Its institutions have lived for years, with the exception of a numerically growing but still distinctly minority of weak eurosceptic MEPs, without opposition. That is why it has been asleep for at least three years, and how it is facing a major crisis of civilisation as it has been unawakened in a chaotic, uncoordinated and mutually contradictory way. As if it were an institution only "for good weather."

The democratic election, even by a minority of the adult population, of representatives in the European Parliament does not guarantee that the representatives are capable and competent. The main threat to the idea of peaceful and prosperous integration does not come from refugee flows, but from the way in which they are (in)responded to. In addition to everyday concerns, any significant and functioning political institution, if it wants to survive, must also diagnose society, make forecasts, see alternatives for development and prepare accordingly. Satisfied representatives considered their own problems more important than those of their constituents. The European Union's time-worn structures are very far from the optimum. In a democratic state, when the ruling elite neglects a serious crisis and cannot manage it, it will resign, allowing disillusioned citizens to decide at the ballot box whether or not to entrust the growing problem to others to deal with. The European institutions are somehow not concerned.

The deep wounds of colonialism, which disabused conquered peoples of their responsibility for their own destiny and to nurture their own elites, the establishment of unequal economic relations after its collapse, which widened rather than narrowed the North-South divide, the dilettante interventions during the new millennium, as well as the ill-considered challenges, have made the growing process unmanageable.

Otherwise, as it is today, a set cultural pluralism helps to diversify the world and makes us culturally richer. Many of the commonplaces we encounter from early morning, such as bed linen, porcelain tiles in the bathroom, the mirror, pyjamas, coffee, sugar and other stuff of everyday use – all of these we have taken over from the world from where refugees are flocking. We need to help each other, and especially in bad times, but problems need to be solved where they originate. This applies equally to the stability of the so-called Muslim world and to the ageing of the European population. Our continent has a difficult, cruel but beautiful tradition. During the Second World War, when there was no other way, healthy men in the prime of their physical strength took up arms and defended their homeland and humanist values against even greater fanaticism than that produced by the Islamic State. We got out of the existential quagmire primarily by ourselves, and we have forgotten that.

The once vaunted Schengen has ceased to function. No one has taken responsibility for it. Ordinary Europeans have not been told the composition and identity of the new immigrants. The fears that inevitably arose in response are not always a good counsel. The European Union has stood the test of time in earlier stages of development, helping to dampen old grievances and bring people, nations and states closer together. However, the outbreak of the financial crisis took it by surprise. It has so far managed the imminent collapse of the Greek economy and the danger of it spreading across the old continent to the benefit of our wallets from a purely economic point of view, but it has completely forgotten its declared democratic principles in doing so.

The prolonged refugee wave has not only brought new experiences about various migrants from the so-called Islamic world, but also about ourselves. The old regimes in Eastern Europe also collapsed in 1989 because they dogmatically insisted on their original ideas, because they were unable to adapt flexibly and pragmatically to new knowledge and movements, and because they considered their worldview, often reduced to schematic precepts, to be the only correct one. Even political systems that reject the monopoly of one party are not entirely immune to this approach. Even in a competitive environment, it is difficult to shed old habits and truths. We do not repress a different view as declared democrats, but we do consider it to be wrong and sometimes even anti-systemic. The existing model of liberal democracy has become taboo and its critics are labelled as enemies of democracy itself. At the same time, we cannot explain why interest in elections to the European Parliament is declining, not

only in Slovakia, and why in many countries there is a growing number and, above all, growing influence of non-standard parties based not on values, but on personality, money and clever marketing. The state of a society is determined not only by its goals and formalised principles, but by how it actually functions.

The individual and humanity develop through cultural exchange. Cultural pluralism helps to diversify the world and makes us culturally richer. It is a question of what rules we set. We will not set appropriate principles and rules without knowledge. The migration crisis has shown how superficially we know the countries from which migrants come, those who have lived in Europe for one, two or three generations, but also ourselves. The problem lies not in the fact that Europeans have different views on this movement, but in how the debate is conducted and how attitudes are polarised between regions, nations and neighbours. The integration process does not mean unity or even uniformity, but openness, dialogue, listening to each other and not ostracising labelling. That is why Europe, whatever it may say, is not integrated and will find it all the more difficult to integrate others. The fate of European integration depends on whether and how it resolves the migration issue.

4. 5 POLITICAL CORRECTNESS AND THE BOOMERANG EFFECT

No one sensible asks immigrants to forget home and stop being themselves, but one cannot turn a blind eye when individuals or coordinated groups fail, when the law and basic local customs of coexistence are not respected. So-called political correctness, i.e. the concealment of unpleasant facts (e.g. about crime), ultimately leads to the opposite of what its promoters want. Withheld facts become the subject of increased interest and various interpretations, which, contrary to official opinion, use a wide range of approaches from common sense to fantasy. There is what is known in propaganda theory as the boomerang effect. Citizens everywhere, when cut off from information, find it easier to generalise reports of heinous acts. With the defence against violence, nationalism is returning to Europe.

On New Year's Eve 2015, sexual assaults by mainly North Africans on German women took place in Cologne, Hamburg, Düsseldorf, Stuttgart, Bielefeld and Frankfurt am Main, but also outside Germany – in Salzburg, Austria, Zurich, Switzerland, and Helsinki, Finland. Soon the public prosecutor's office in Cologne received more than 1,100 criminal complaints. (Sexuelle Übergriffe in der Silvesternacht 2015, 2020)

The all-German public broadcaster ARD ("Arbeitsgemeinschaft der öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunkanstalten der Bundesrepublik Deutschland") did not report on the events until the evening news on Monday, January 4, while the ZDF ("Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen") did not broadcast a special news bulletin until the evening of January 5 on the topic "What Happened on New Year's Eve?" Not only the German, but also the European public is waiting for a factual explanation of this phenomenon[5]. Europeans received the first information earlier, especially from the so-called alternative media, whose popularity increased as a result. Initially, the attacks were relativised, creating an image similar to the manifestations that took place during the Munich beer festival (the so-called Oktoberfest). Abu Yusuf, the Salafist imam at the small Al-Tawhid mosque in the Kalk district (a suburb in the east of Cologne), unhappily suggested in an interview with a television station that the German women had contributed to the situation because they dressed lightly and wore 'inappropriate' perfume. According to Arabist Ostřanský of the OÚ AV ČR, many migrants feel frustration. As he said:

> "They can't get married because maybe they don't have the means. There is a frustration that comes from that, which is unquestionable. For a lot of young Arab men, that frustration is there, and when it's mixed with very unrealistic ideas about what sexual behaviour is like for European women, it makes for a pretty dangerous cocktail" (Události, komentáře, 2016).

The credibility of the official mass media is also declining due to the unqualified nature of their staff in our country as well. The dilettantism of established editors disturbs the coexistence of different cultures and increases the interest of readers in alternative sources of information. A few days after the terrorist act when Muslim extremists in Pakistan brutally murdered eleven members of an international non-commercial expedition at a base camp under Nanga Parbat on June 22, 2013, a writer in a mainstream newspaper described the victims as irresponsible. Slovak high altitude climbers Dobeš (1963 – 2013) and Šperka (1955 – 2013) thus became (fortunately so far) the only civilian victims of international terrorism (Krno, 2013, pp. 20–24). To this day not a single line of apology for the false and cynical remark has been published.

---

[5] It is possible to believe that this silence is related to the long-lasting denazification of post-war Germany. Society was treated as if with powerful antibiotics. The "disease" was got rid of, the patient did not die, but new consequences of the chosen treatment came. In public discourse, there is a lingering fear that someone pointing to a problem outside the German ethnic group might be branded as carrying old sins from the time of state Nazism.

Shortly after the massacre, the Slovak opinion daily wrote in a commentary on June 25, 2013: *"Going to similar areas... is more than irresponsible"* (Morvay, 2013, p. 10). These sentences became a trigger on the social network for "experts" who have been everywhere, read everything, experienced everything and solved everything. Survivors as well as acquaintances in a difficult psychological situation were unable to defend themselves against a second, this time "media execution". To speak out publicly at that moment would also mean opening the wounds of the closest next of kin.[6]

It is common for authors to write about something where they are not physically or knowledgeably at home, fail to consult an expert, and express unequivocal attitudes, including condemnation, which at best elicits a smile. But eleven people have died horrible deaths here. Šperka as a professional and Dobeš as a volunteer, already degraded to tourists in the title of the article mentioned above, saved the lives of often irresponsible visitors to the High Tatras. If they were both irresponsible, as the editor thought, who shifted the blame from the actors of the terrible act to the victims, which, unfortunately, is not an exceptional approach, they had plenty of opportunities not to return home alive at a ripe old age during their sport and rescue actions.

During the 2014 Winter Olympics in Sochi, South Caucasus, the same journalist, often critical of nationalist attitudes in Central Europe, tried to stir up a debate about whether Olympic gold medalist Kuzmina, a former citizen of the Russian Federation, now the Slovak Republic, was even ours (Morvay, 2014). It was a sad contribution of Slovak journalism to the debate on ethnic tolerance.

4. 6   KEY POLITICAL PARTIES AND THEME OF MIGRATION

Since the establishment of the modern Slovak Republic, even at the turn of the millennium, the topic of migration has hardly featured in the struggle of political parties. The key issue in the 2002 elections was the integration

---

[6]   At the end of 2013, Krno's book „Nanga Parbat brings both happiness and unhappiness" (2013) was published, which was dedicated to the victims of the aforementioned horrible act and brought a completely different explanation than the article mentioned above. A year later, a documentary film by Ohuriak (Horal Studia Barney) entitled „The Legacy of Tóno Dobeš" was made in Liptovský Mikuláš, which was screened thirty times at public official events and won six awards at film events and travel festivals.

process of the Slovak Republic. The main cleavage took place between, at that time, strongly pro-integration subjects – the conservative-liberal political party "Slovenská demokratická a kresťanská únia" (SDKU) ("Slovak Democratic and Christian Union"), formed from the "Demokratická únia" (DÚ) ("Democratic Union"), which tended towards liberalism, and the modernist wing of the „Kresťanskodemokratické hnutie" (KDH) ("Christian Democratic Movement"), the "Strana maďarskej koalície" (SMK) ("Party of the Hungarian Coalition") and the KDH on the one hand – against polical party "Smer", which gradually filled the vacant left-wing space, which was in favour of integrationist groupings but expressed a slightly critical stance, and "Hnutie za demokratické Slovensko" (HZDS) ("Movement for Democratic Slovakia"), which also declared its interest in joining integrationist structures but was rejected by the foreign countries, on the other. Members of "Komunistická strana Slovenska" (KSS) ("Communist Party of Slovakia"), who were in favour of joining the European Union, also took their seats in the Slovak National Council for the first time. The space vacated by the self-dissolution of the DÚ was occupied by the pro-integration and pro-liberal "Aliancia nového občana" (ANO) ("Alliance of the New Citizen").

In the aforementioned and subsequent elections, the subject of the debate on European affairs was mainly agricultural issues (especially grants), Brussels bureaucracy, and later the long-term presence of our citizens abroad. A certain breakthrough was marked by Act No. 250/2010 Coll., which in the fifth parliamentary term amended Act No. 40/1993 Coll. of the National Council of the Slovak Republic on citizenship in response to a controversial Hungarian law allowing the granting of local citizenship on request to virtually any person of Hungarian nationality, thus de facto extending the effect of Hungarian law beyond the borders of our southern neighbour. The amendment entered into force on July 17, 2010, symbolically on the anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration of Sovereignty of the Slovak Republic. From time to time, the subject of the asylum law came up, but there was no talk of mass migration, which did not exist at the time. This topic was not even in the election programmes of the political parties.

The changed situation in Europe, the new wave of mass migration, the reactions of European and later domestic politicians, the way the mainstream mass media inform and the reactions of citizens brought a new electoral theme before 2016. In the following text, we can see how individual political parties in Slovakia reflect on the topic of migration.

Smer-SD

"Smer-SD" („Smer – Slovak Social Democracy") was founded as a critical entity with a clear media vision. Since its inception, it has strived for a radical so-called no-Mečiar´s criticism of Mikuláš Dzurinda´**s** government (1955). It combined elements of professional opposition and populism, of both the right and the left. Its accentuate concepts of statism, need for a geopolitical and energy vision of Slovakia, strengthening the legal character of the state, economic liberalism, social issues, and integration tendencies with greater emphasis on a better bargaining position of Slovakia. It was very critical of the negotiated terms of the country's accession to the European Union. However, it clearly supported accession.

In 2002, it appealed to voters with an oppositional but predominantly left-wing and left-of-centre sensibility. Among its founders, economists with right-liberal economic expectations also had strong positions. Conservative slogans, referring to law and order and a radical solution to the Roma question, also resonated in the election campaign. Given the compactness of the right-wing government and the total collapse of the non-communist left, there was an objective process of occupying the vacant centre-left space. It did not keep conservative elements.

The party has significantly changed the structure of its electorate. In 2002, young people with higher education and coming from cities, the exact opposite of the political party "Hnutie za demokratické Slovensko" (HZDS) background predominated. In 2006, it penetrated the countryside, people with less education and the older generation. It made above-average gains among first-time voters, the most of any party in 2006. After 2012, when a record 44.4% of voters voted for it, it gradually lost the middle and especially the youngest generation. In terms of age, it has turned into the opposite of where it started.

It has always had a positive attitude towards European integration, but at certain times it has criticised some of the actions of the Brussels administration. This was felt most strongly during the beginning of the migration crisis, when the party sharpened its critical rhetoric considerably. It spoke out strongly against the quotas, in which the party was ultimately successful. It stressed that the problem should be solved by those who caused it, not Slovakia, and where it originated, outside the European Union.

In December 2015, a government of one colour filed a lawsuit against the European Commission for its decision to redistribute refugees found in Greece and Italy among the various member states of the European Union. The new Slovak coalition government, formed under Smer-SD leadership in March 2016, did not withdraw this action from the European Court of Justice in Luxembourg.

"Smer-SD" went into the 2016 elections with a modest election programme. During the campaign, however, it clearly formulated a negative attitude towards the European Union's policy towards migrants. One of its key slogans, "Protecting Slovakia", dominated the billboards.

After the 2020 parliamentary elections, a group of eleven deputies broke away from "Smer-SD" and founded the "Hlas-sociálna demokracia" ("Hlas-Social Democracy") party on September 11. The new entity, like "Smer-SD", seeks to combine social democratic values with patriotism and respect for national traditions. However, it is less radical. It uses a more moderate vocabulary. It does not take a fundamentally different position on integration.

Progresívne Slovensko

"Progresívne Slovensko" (PS) ("Progressive Slovakia") is the second largest and currently the youngest parliamentary political party. It was founded on November 27, 2017. It takes the position of the liberal centre. It has become part of the European Liberal ALDE faction. The fifth head of state – Čaputová – has also come from its ranks. It has built its main electoral base among the urban, especially large urban population and groups with lower age and higher education.

Key value features include the protection of the rule of law, sexual, ethnic and other minorities, and the environment. The PS advocates for the modernisation of the state, calls for the legalisation of sexual self-identification and the decriminalisation of light drugs. At the end of 2021, it pushed for the introduction of mandatory universal vaccination against COVID-19.

On international political and security issues, it is the most aligned among the parliamentary political parties with NATO and European Union policies, including on migration issues. The programme document Vision of One Country states on p. 55:

"Slovakia's position on migration remains trapped in simplistic dogmas. Despite growing pressure, there has been no fundamental change in the approach to migrants. No mechanisms and schemes are being developed to comprehensively address the situation of migration and integration of foreigners. Asylum and foreigners policy is complicated and uncoordinated, including in relation to the economic interests of the state" (PS, Vízia jednej krajiny, 2023, p. 55).

Obyčajní ľudia

"Obyčajní ľudia a nezávislé osobnosti" ("Ordinary People and Independent Personalities Movement"), currently under the name "Slovensko" ("Slovakia") is a conservative grouping based on the principle of the strong position of its leader Matovič. As it has had a minimum number of members since its inception, it has been the most effective electoral entity since the first elections, when it ran on the "Sloboda a Solidarita" (SAS) ("Freedom and Solidarity") party list. It has a positive attitude towards European integration. On the refugee issue, it is slightly critical. It has proposed excluding from Schengen those states that have not fulfilled their obligations.

Sloboda a Solidarita

"Sloboda a Solidarita" (SaS) ("Freedom and Solidarity"), a right-liberal party with moderate Euroscepticism, has joined the European Parliament in the European Conservatives and Reformists (ECR) grouping, which corresponds to its foreign policy orientation. The party's chairman, former MEP Sulík, demonstrated his mild Euroscepticism (especially in relation to migration) before the elections to the Slovak National Council, particularly in his appearances on German television. SaS has rejected the so-called 'euro-bailout'. For the 2016 elections, it has traditionally prepared the most detailed programme, in which it *rejected mandatory quotas for war refugees and illegal economic migrants – regardless of whether these will be one-off redistributions or a permanent redistribution mechanism.* It has addressed this issue in even greater detail in its extensive document, „Manifesto of Slovak Eurorealism", which the party prepared ahead of the 2019 European elections.

Kresťanskodemokratické hnutie

"Kresťanskodemokratické hnutie" (KDH) ("Christian Democratic Movement") began to emerge after the call of November 30, 1989 for the establishment of Christian Democratic clubs on the basis of Catholic dissent and the secret church. In the spring of 1990, its preferences far outstripped those of other entities. It was expected to be the winner of the first plurality elections. By being too ideologised and combative, it alienated a part of the population preferring consensus, who then preferred the "Verejnosť proti násiliu" (VPN) ("Public Against Violence"). Slovak voters of 1990 preferred different values than in 1935. For a long time the movement was indecisive. A part of the population it resembled the legacy of the „Hlinková slovenská ľudová strana" ("Hlinka´s Slovak People´s Party") from

which the leadership was unable to strongly distance itself. On the other hand, in the later period, when the first Slovak Republic was being idealised in Slovakia, other voters lacked the expected subscription to the People's Party tradition.

KDH has always been receptive to European integration. This has also been the case on the issue of migration, where it has occasionally made critical remarks. The 2016 electoral programme had a specific sub-chapter on "Migration", which mentioned that 'massive migration is one of the most serious contemporary challenges for Europe', which has a moral duty to help those who are persecuted and poor'. At the same time, the movement called for upholding the Christian traditions of the continent. After the 2016 parliamentary elections, it found itself out of parliament for the first time since 1990, to which it returned after seven years.

Slovenská národná strana

The first, above mentioned cleavage line, centre – periphery, creates the conditions for the emergence of centralising and regional parties, which often also have a conservative and ethnic orientation. These parties are more likely to be critical of integration. The oldest political party in Slovakia, "Slovenská národná strana" (SNS) ("Slovak National Party"), drew on the traditional Prague-Bratislava rivalry when it was revived, or rather re-established, in 1990. Although it operated in opposition for two and a half years, it made a major contribution to the negotiated division of Czecho-Slovakia. The then victorious political party HZDS actually fulfilled the core of its programme. "Slovenská národná strana" thus became in its own way the most effective party on the territory of the then Slovakia of the ending Czecho-Slovak era. After the establishment of the independent Slovak Republic, it abandoned the Czech-Slovak rhetoric. It placed more emphasis on the so-called Hungarian question and later also on the Roma question. The refugees were outside its interest. It dropped out of parliament because of its own cleavage. With the change of leader, when Danko took the party over from Slota, it abandoned the anti-Hungarian and anti-Roma rhetoric. It has even contributed to Slovak-Hungarian rapprochement.

As a value-conservative and economically centrist party, together with the majority of the parties in the Slovak Republic, it rejected the so-called quotas for the admission of refugees.

Kotlebovci – Ľudová strana Naše Slovensko

The space vacated by Slota and especially the space to the right of the then

SNS was occupied by the "Kotlebovci – Ľudová strana Naše Slovensko" (ĽSNS) ("Kotleba's People's Party Our Slovakia"). This radical right-wing entity was the first of its kind in the history of Slovakia to take a parliamentary position after 1989. Unlike previous small ultra-nationalist groups, it relies on the youngest generation, among whom it won the 2016 elections. It is collecting signatures for referendums on leaving the European Union and NATO. It is the only parliamentary party to condemn the Slovak National Uprising. It targets the Roma population and the possible mass arrival of refugees. It plays a role in this. On June 19, 2015, it filled Bratislava's SNP Square after a previous march called „*STOP the Islamisation of Europe! Together against the dictates of Brussels, for a Europe for Europeans*". Kotleba, the party chairman and then mayor of Banská Bystrica, began his speech symbolically: *"Let me wish you a beautiful and fine white day."* (Vražda, 2017, p. 141).

Sme rodina

The "Sme rodina" ("We are Familly") party is a conservative entity with a strong position of its leader – founder Kollár, whose name initially appeared in the name of the political entity. It has chosen the strongest anti-immigration parties as its European allies, including the Rassemblement national (National Association, formerly the National Front), led by Le Pen, who also visited Bratislava on the eve of the European Parliament elections at its invitation, and the Italian League (formerly the League of the North), chaired by Matteo Salvini. Sme rodina supported the action brought by the government of Róbert Fico before the European Court of Justice in the matter of quotas for the redistribution of refugees.

Kollár criticised both pro-immigration activists and President Kiska for their welcoming attitude towards migrants. He warned against efforts to impose sharia in Europe and "the immigration of Muslim hordes into the Europea Union and Slovakia" (Hlinčíková – Mesežnikov, 2016, p. 136).

Sieť

The new and now defunct party "Sieť" ("Network") was founded on the initiative of the relatively successful presidential candidate Procházka. In its value scale it took a right-centric, low-profile conservative-liberal position. It was very receptive to European integration, but rejected quotas.

Most-Híd

On 7 June 2009, the former chairman of the "Strana maďarskej koalície" (SMK) ("Hungarian Coalition Party") Bugár, founded "Most-Híd" (with the addition of "Az együttműködés pártja – Strana spolupráce"). Slovaks also appeared in the leadership of the new party, which favoured the civic principle over the national principle. Most has always been strongly pro-integration. Compared to its rivals in SMK, it has publicly shown loyalty to the Slovak Republic and has gained considerably more coalition potential. It has served in both centre-right and centre-left governments. It took over the moderate majority of the SMK electorate and at the same time visibly penetrated the Slovak nationality electorate. It was the most sympathetic to migrants among the parliamentary parties. It advocated a fairer distribution of migrants among the Member States. It admitted hosting eight hundred refugees, but rejected quotas. However, it did not directly address the refugee and migration issue in his programme for the parliamentary elections, "Civic Vision 2016".

Strana maďarskej koalície

Let us mention two more extra-parliamentary entities. The "Strana maďarskej koalície – Magyar Koalíció Pártja" ("Hungarian Coalition Party – Magyar Koalíció Pártja") was formed by the merger of several Hungarian groups, the core of which was MKDH: "Maďarské kresťanskodemokratické hnutie" ("Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement", "Magyar Keresztény-demokrata Mozgalom"), founded on March 15, 1990 at the first nationwide meeting of Hungarian Christian Democratic Clubs in the Csemadok Hall in Bratislava, where the majority of those present were inclined to the view that it was necessary to break away from KDH. After the election of Pál Csáky as the new chairman and the departure of founder Bugár, its ethnic dimension has been strengthened. It has long been outside the National Council of the Slovak Republic.

The SMK's attitude towards refugees also differed markedly from that of "Most-Híd". It has been strongly critical of Europe on this issue. According to Forró, a member of the presidium and later party chairman, "the migration crisis is a real security threat to the inhabitants of southern Slovakia". After the merger process, the SMK formed the "Magyar Szövetség – Hungarian Alliance" (abbreviated SZÖVETSÉG – ALIANCIA) with smaller partners.

Table 7. Results of the last three parliamentary elections in the Slovak Republic

	March 5, 2016			February 29, 2020			September 30, 2023		
Participation (in %)	59.82			65.80			68.42		
	v.	%	m.	v.	%	m.	h.	%	m.
PARLIAMENTARY PARTIES									
Left centre									
Smer-SD	737,481	28.28	49	527,172	1.29	24	681,017	22.94	42
Hlas-SD							436,415	14.70	27
Centre									
Spolu / PS – Progresívne Slovensko				200,780	6.96		533,136	17.96	32
Right centre									
Obyčajní ľudia a nezávislé osobnosti / Slovensko	287,611	11.02	19	721,166	25.02	53	264,137	8.89	16
Za ľudí				166,325	5.77	12			
Kresťanskodemokratické hnutie	128,908	4.94		134,099	4.65		202,515	6.82	12
Sloboda a solidarita	315,558	12.10	21	179,246	6.22	13	187,645	6.32	11
Sme rodina	172,860	6.62	11	237,531	8.24	17	65,673	2.21	
Sieť	146,205	5.60	10						
Ethnic parties									
Slovenská národná strana	225,386	8.64	15	91,171	3.16		166,995	5.62	10
Most – Híd	169,593	6.50	11	59,174	2.05		7,935	0.26	
Radical Right									
Kotlebovci – Ľudová strana NS	209,779	8.04	14	229,660	7.97	17	25 003	0.84	
NON-PARLIAMENTARY PARTIES									
Ethnic parties									
Strana maďarskej koalície / Aliancia	105,495	4.04	0	112,662	3.90		130,183	4.38	
Maďarské fórum, Občianski demokrati Slovenska, Za regióny, Rómska koalícia, Demokratická strana							3,468	0.11	
Princíp							1,817	0.06	
Vlastenecký blok							1,262	0.04	
Vlasť				84,507	2.93				
Hlas ľudu				1,887	0.06				
Práca slovenského národa				1,261	0.04				
Slovenská liga				809	0.02				
Maďarská kresťansko-demokratická aliancia	2,426	0.09							
Right centre									
Demokrati							87,006	2.93	
Máme toho dosť!				9,260	0.32				
Demokratická strana	1,998	0.08		4,194	0.14				
Slovenská demokratická a kresťanská únia	6,938	0.27					771	0.02	
Centre									
Piráti							9,358	0.31	
Karma							2,407	0.08	
Dobrá voľba				88,220	3.06				
Starostovia a nezáv. kandidáti				2,018	0.07				
99 % – občiansky hlas				991	0.03				
Strana TIP	18,845	0.72							
Strana zelených	17,541	0.67							
Šanca	6,522	0.25							
Strana moderného Slovenska	4,559	0.17							
Priama demokracia	3,595	0.14							
Radical nationalists									
Republika							141,099	4.75	
Slovenské Hnutie Obrody				1,966	0.06		1,332	0.04	
Slovenská ľudová strana A. Hlinku				8,191	0.28				
Odvaha – Veľká národná a proruská koalícia	3,428	0.13							
Koalícia Spoločne za Slovensko	1,777	0.07							

	March 5, 2016			February 29, 2020			September 30, 2023		
	v.	%	m.	v.	%	m.	h.	%	m.
Participation (in %)	59.82			65.80			68.42		
The Left									
Komunistická strana Slovenska	16,278	0.62					9 867	0.33	
Slovenská občianska koalícia / Solidarita – Hnutie pracujúcej chudoby / MySlovensko	21,785	0.84		3,296	0.11		2.786	0.09	
Spoločne občania Slovenska							2,401	0.08	
Srdce, vlastenci a dôchodcovia – SNJ							2,315	0.07	
Spravodlivosť							1,335	0.04	
Socialisti.sk				15,925	0.55				
99 % – občiansky hlas				991	0.03				
Vzdor – strana práce	3,182	0.12							
Number of registered voters	4,426,760			4,432,419			4,388,872		
Number of electoral votes	2,648,184		150	2,881,511		150	2,967,896		150

Source: Voľby do NR SR 2016; Voľby 2020 do NR SR; Voľby do NR SR, 2023
Note: v – number of votes, % – number of percent of votes, m – number of mandates

Most of the relevant political parties were close to the majority of public opinion at the time in their positions on the "refugee crisis" before the 2016 national parliamentary elections. The issue has lost its attractiveness as a subject of pre-election debates four years later, although it has also appeared in the 2020 agendas. The social debate focused on domestic political issues, mainly touching on corruption and the rule of law. The 2023 election year was marked by the reaction on the past covid pandemic and the current war in Ukraine. The issue of migration has reached even further into the background, despite the fact that on the eve of the parliamentary elections in southern Slovakia there was a visible increase in illegal migrants.

4.7 EVALUATION

As the findings suggest, the topic of migration has hardly featured in the political struggle since the establishment of the Slovak Republic. In 2002 and in the subsequent elections, the issue of Slovakia's accession and integration into the European Union was the key issue. The situation changed in 2015. Massive waves of migrants heading to Europe triggered a reaction on the European political scene and brought a new electoral issue to Slovakia. The security threat in the form of people arriving in Europe became a prominent theme of the political campaign. Apart from their outward appearance or language, their cultural features became the main element of their distinctiveness, of which religion appeared to be the most prominent.

The Slovak government opposed the common solutions proposed by the European Commission, which were supposed to mitigate the impact of the "European migration crisis" and to share the responsibility for solving it equally among all EU countries. An example was the Slovak Republic's rejection of quotas that were supposed to redistribute refugees to all EU countries. Such a position was declared by the "SMER-SD" party, but also by the majority of parliamentary and extra-parliamentary parties, which incorporated the topic of migration in detail into their programmes. Their programmes were based on the sovereignty of Slovakia, the consistent application of the principles of the Schengen area, the problems associated with multiculturalism, the immigration of Muslims, people from Africa or the Middle East to Europe, and the need to adapt to the social rules in Slovakia. The radical right-wing party, „Ľudová strana – Naše Slovensko", spoke most harshly against immigrants before the 2019 elections, warning in their programme about the occupation of Europe by immigrants and its Islamisation. In the next two parliamentary elections (2000 and 2023), this issue gave way to others.

5 ATTITUDES OF SLOVAKS TOWARDS MIGRANTS AND MIGRATION

The chapter focuses on the perception of migration and migrants in Slovakia. It aims to describe and analyse attitudes towards this population group based on research findings conducted at local, national and transnational levels. We will try to map the forms and note the shifts in the perception of migrants in the context of historical development. In particular, we will focus on the crucial socio-economic and political events that have fundamentally determined the migration situation in Slovakia and thus attitudes towards migrants. In this context, we consider Slovakia's accession to the European Union, the migration crisis in 2015 and 2016, which took place in Slovakia at the same time as the parliamentary elections, and the outbreak of the military conflict in Ukraine to be particularly significant.

In the introductory part we define the basic concepts related to the issue, we establish the roles of social sciences in the research of attitudes towards migrants. In the next subsection we will draw on scientific works that deal with the issue of attitudes towards foreigners and migrants, while our own research findings will be the main basis for this. We conducted our research using the questionnaire technique, but also by analysing primary statistical databases of Eurobarometer, the Migration Office of the Ministry of Interior and the Bureau of Border and Foreign Police. Eurbarometer provides the most comprehensive information from opinion polls of the European Union countries. It is used as an opinion polling tool by the European Commission, the European Parliament and other European Union institutions and agencies. It regularly monitors the attitudes of European Union citizens on political or social issues. Eurobarometer focuses on regular surveys of key trends relevant to the European Union, specifically in-depth thematic surveys of current issues and challenges (Eurobarometer, 2024).

5. 1   THEORETICAL BACKROUNDS

Differences between individuals and groups, defined by ethnicity, religion, language, cultural specificities, as well as physical features such as skin colour, are realised and manifested through a number of tools. The study of attitudes, prejudices and stereotypes falls within this field. The binary oppositions "we – they", "native – foreign", which reflect the perception of group differences, are among the key research areas of several social science and historical disciplines, such as cultural studies, ethnology, anthropology, sociology and psychology. These disciplines are theoretically and methodologically competent to investigate forms

of cultural diversity as well as the question of its perception. In the following section, we briefly define the basic concepts of the issue under study.

Výrost and Slaměník (2008) understand attitudes as evaluative relations of a person to various social objects. According to them, some of the attitudes are innate, but most of them are acquired through personal experience or social learning. According to Krech, Crutch Field and Ballachey, attitudes are enduring sets of positive or negative evaluations, emotional feelings and actions towards social objects (Nakonečný, 2009).

Prejudices are a special type of attitudes. They are very strongly emphasized and change-resistant attitudes (Nakonečný, 2009). The classic of prejudice theory Allport (2004) defines them as a dismissive or even hostile attitude towards a person who belongs to a certain group, and just because he belongs to this group, he is attributed the same undesirable characteristics as this group. Šmidová, Vávra and Čížek (2017, p. 23) talk about typical characteristics of prejudice in this context. They include among them the rejection of positive emotions towards a certain group or individuals, exaggerating and emphasizing cultural differences towards the "others", and defending traditional (e.g. European or Christian) values.

A stereotype, unlike a prejudice, can be not only negative but also neutral or even positive. Stereotypes are a set of judgments about the personality traits or physical characteristics of an entire group (Průcha, 2007). Stereotypes characterize persons on the basis of traits that we attribute to an entire group, regardless of whether the idea is justified and realistically based.

Prejudices and stereotypes stem from the tendency to generalize and group information, phenomena, or things into groups, i.e. from the tendency to categorize. However, categories, which may not always be rational, help us to quickly identify similar objects and to have the same or similar emotions or ideas about them. Categorization allows us to navigate our daily lives, where we encounter many new and unfamiliar people. Underlying the formation of attitudes, evaluations, or stereotypes towards other groups is a natural tendency to fear anything unfamiliar and distant (Allport, 2004).

Sobková, Òbrink Hobzová and Trochtová (2016) point to the importance of emotions in the formation of attitudes, prejudices and stereotypes, emphasizing the social significance of emotions and their presence in social contexts. A special group of emotions are group emotions, which are manifested in the identification of individuals with a social group. According to the authors, the role of group emotions is to regulate group behaviour. Attitudes towards other groups are shaped, for example, by feelings of threat. Threat is subsequently associated with the emotion of anger, fear, disgust or pity and, depending on the specific type

of threat (e.g., threat to physical safety, group values, standard of living), also with an effort to remove the threat (reverse the values, remove the obstacle). The formation of attitudes towards migrants can also be explained in this context.

The degree of proximity, similarity or distance and difference between groups or cultures is referred to as cultural (social) distance (proximity) (Průcha, 2004). Cultural distance reflects differences in a number of areas such as language, family structure, religion, social and economic background, lifestyle, and values. In the case of migrants or foreigners, cultural distance needs to be seen in the context of the migrant-host country but also migrant-country of origin relationship.

5. 2 BEFORE SLOVAKIA'S ACCESSION INTO THE EUROPEAN UNION

The number of foreigners on the territory of Slovakia was relatively low until 2004. Slovaks had few opportunities to form attitudes towards this population on the basis of personal experience. This fact was also reflected in society-wide discourse and professional interest in the issue of migration and attitudes towards foreigners. Greater attention was paid to the presence of indigenous national minorities and ethnic groups and majority-minority relations with them. These were mainly relations with the Hungarian and Roma populations. Only a few researches have been carried out on the issue of attitudes towards foreigners and a minimum of scientific studies have been published.

The survey of majority-minority relations at the international level was the subject of the " Výskumu európskych hodnôt 1999 – 2000" carried out in 32 countries. The report on our country entitled "Opinions, Attitudes and Values of the Slovak Population in European Comparison" was prepared by the Institute of Sociology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences. From its data it is clear that in the field of tolerance towards ethnic and religious minority communities Slovakia is below the uropean Union average (24.5% of Slovaks surveyed would not want Muslims as neighbours; immigrants or foreign workers (22.9%), people of a different race (17%), Roma (77.2%). According to 50.4% of the respondents, the government should introduce strict restrictions on the number of foreigners, and 19.7% of them agreed with the ban on people from poor countries coming to Slovakia to work (Výskum európskych hodnôt, 1999 – 2000).

One of the sources of research on attitudes at the national level is a survey conducted by the Centre for Social and Marketing Analysis – Focus entitled

"Postoje obyvateľov SR k utečencom" in March 1998. It was commissioned by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Bratislava. The data presented was the result of a representative quantitative survey carried out on a sample of 1,088 inhabitants of the Slovak Republic. In May 2001 and in 2005, the Agency carried out a repeat survey on the basis of UNHCR's requests (UHNCR et FOCUS, 1998, 2001, 2005). From their findings, certain shifts in perceptions of refugees are evident. There has been a positive shift in some indicators. For example, 68.5% of respondents in 1998, 66.8% in 2001 and 74.5% in 2005 agreed more or completely with the statement that "Refugees should be helped because they are people in need". On the other hand, refugees were mainly associated with an increase in crime (which 62.9% of the respondents in 2001 agreed with or strongly agreed with), with financial expenditure by the state (73.3%), with taking jobs away from the local population (49.7%) and with bringing diseases (60.1%).

The conclusions of the project of the Institute of Sociology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences "Aspekty národnej identity a národná identita v strednej Európe" from 1996, namely the chapter by Bodnárová entitled " Postoje občanov Slovenskej republiky k prisťahovalcom" (1996), also correspond with these findings. Approximately two thirds of its respondents agreed that immigrants contribute to the increase of crime in our territory. Certain differentiations were noted by the research according to the educational characteristics of the respondents. It turned out that the higher their education, the less they agreed with the given opinion. Another interesting conclusion was the finding that "*respondents from larger settlements are more likely to see immigrants as potential criminals than respondents from small settlements.*"

Attitudes towards specific groups of migrants – refugees and Muslims – were investigated in our research in 2001 (Letavajová, 2001).We conducted this research at the time of the peak of the refugee crisis in Afghanistan and the mass arrival of this population in European countries and also in Slovakia. We asked the inhabitants of towns and villages with different experiences with refugees (Bratislava, Brezová pod Bradlom – the location of a refugee camp, Moravské Lieskové – a border village with numerous cases of smuggling and illegal migrants, Prievidza – a city with an average number of foreigners). Our research has shown that Slovaks' ideas and knowledge about refugees, according to which they later mediate their relationship with them, are often inaccurate or substantially different from the actual facts. They see the presence of refugees in Slovakia as a threat to their social security (work, financial security). Regarding Muslims and Muslim culture, interviewees perceived them as a different and alien element. They

perceived cultural distance mainly in relation to their religion, customs and ways of behaviour. Muslim culture was judged by the majority as "backward" and at a "lower level". Negative evaluations dominated views of religion, emphasising its fanaticism, radicalism, fundamentalism and aggression. They were critical of the position of women in Islam and polygamy. The wearing of the Muslim headscarf or the fact that some Muslim women prioritise childcare and domestic work over a career evoked the idea of oppression by men and the lack of opportunity for self-fulfilment among the majority population. In their claims, they referred to media reports as well as the book „I Will Not Leave Without My Daughter" (Mahmoody). They were less radical about the diet of Muslims. They evaluated it as a specificity of the culture and commented positively on the ban on alcohol and pork. More positive attitudes towards refugees were identified among respondents who were interested in the issue, had personal experience with refugees, were better educated and younger in age.

5.3 AFTER SLOVAKIA'S ACCESSION INTO THE EUROPEAN UNION IN 2004

Slovakia's accession to the European Union structures undoubtedly meant a sharp development impulse. Reflecting the attractiveness of the country for foreign nationals, the number of foreigners on our territory is changing radically (Divinský, 2009, p. 29). Migrants are gradually becoming a part of Slovak society, the native population encounters them more and more frequently and can confront the mediated, especially media experiences with the topic with their own personal experiences. The issue of the arrival and presence of foreigners in Slovakia, the question of their integration into the majority society, as well as their attitudes, is gradually becoming a subject of interest for scientific research, especially in the field of sociology, but also in ethnology and human geography.

We have the opportunity to observe the views on the integration of migrants from third countries from the Eurobarometer surveys (Quantitative Eurobarometer, 2011), which were conducted on this topic in the beginning of 2011. The attitudes survey was carried out on several age groups of respondents in all 27 European union member states. The European population encounters these groups of foreigners in different situations. As far as Slovaks are concerned, they have most interactions in shops and with doctors in hospital settings. Negative attitudes towards them are mainly influenced by the perception that foreigners

take their jobs and increase crime. Negative stereotypes are reinforced by media reports. However, in their view, they contribute to the host country mainly by broadening the multicultural outlook and increasing tolerance, helping to raise the country's profile abroad (citing the biathlon athlete Kuzmina as an example). They express concern in relation to migrants with a Muslim religion. They fear that churches will replace mosques, they disapprove of the way Muslim men treat women. They consider the inability to accept the host culture as a major obstacle to the integration of migrants from third countries.

At the national level, the International Organization for Migration has conducted one of the most extensive surveys. According to its findings (Vašečka, 2009), Slovaks associate foreigners and identify them mainly with specific groups of people. Their evaluations are influenced by strong ethnicisation, self-perception and the delineation of the so-called core group of ethnic Slovaks in relation to other citizens of the Slovak Republic and foreigners. The attitudes of the Slovak population towards foreigners are marked by negative perceptions and stereotypes. They look at foreigners through economic indicators, they consider them as a burden, as persons who need to be taken care of and who bring contagious diseases. Slovaks are very poorly informed about foreigners and do not actively seek information about them. They do not distinguish between specific groups of migrants and often identify them with refugees. Respondents' attitudes vary depending on a number of socio-demographic characteristics, especially their age, gender, and education. In general, women and younger respondents (mainly those aged 18 – 34, as opposed to the group aged 55 and over) were more open towards foreigners. Secondary and university educated and students mentioned foreigners more often as close friends. Foreigners did not bother them and the level of acceptance was high. In general, they were more optimistic on these issues. Those with primary education saw foreigners as a risk of increased crime and a burden on the state budget, and were concerned about competition in the labour market. More positive attitudes towards foreigners were also deeply religious and respondents with personal experience gained mainly during longer stays abroad (Vašečka, 2009).

We consider it of the utmost importance to examine the attitudes of young people. We consider this group of the population to be essential in terms of future development, direction and possible formation of social opinion in relation to otherness, foreigners and tolerance. In the following, we will therefore focus on research that has specifically focused on the attitudes of pupils and students towards migrants and foreigners. Several of them are directly linked to the topic of multiculturalism and the need for multicultural education in primary, secondary or higher education.

In this context, the management of the research carried out for the Council of Europe under the title "All different – All equal" in several countries of the European Union provides valuable insights. Its aim was to find out the attitudes and opinions of young people in all regions, depending on their age, gender, education, social status, nationality and religion. The research material was compiled by Gallová Kriglerová (2006). One of the most significant findings was the fact that young people perceive discrimination and disadvantage very sensitively. Respondents with the highest education proved to be the most perceptive. Up to 70% of respondents declared that we should help refugees to find a decent life in Slovakia. On the other hand, a third of the respondents said that refugees are a threat to our country and that we should not create conditions for them to settle here. The least tolerant were students of secondary schools without high school diplomas, more tolerant were students of high schools and universities. Slightly more positive attitudes were held by women in the sample. Young people had more pronounced attitudes towards Muslims. 58.1% of respondents agreed with the statement that it is good if people with different faiths, such as Muslims, live in our country. Conversely, 40.1% agreed with the statement that Islam is contrary to the values that our society professes.

The perception of cultural diversity by primary school pupils was also the subject of further work by Gallová Kriglerová and Kadlečíková (2009). Almost 1,000 pupils in 8th and 9th grades of primary schools responded to their questions. The results of the research were published in a sociological-pedagogical text, the task of which was to place the findings in a broader social context, to place the reader in a narrower framework of educational practice, to make recommendations for educational practice, and to introduce the topic of multicultural education into schools. Within the conclusions, the authors (Gallová Kriglerová – Kadlečíková, 2009, pp. 98–101) state that young people acquire attitudes towards diversity and otherness as well as information about culturally different groups mainly from their parents. They are aware of the need to get to know and meet people of different cultures, but they perceive Slovakia mainly as "the country of Slovaks". The perception of cultural diversity is influenced not only by pupils' personal experience but also by the extent to which they encounter it in the educational process. Knowledge alone, however, does not influence the perception of cultural diversity. Pupils' attitudes are burdened with prejudices, which are stronger towards so-called indigenous minorities (especially Roma and Hungarians) than towards emerging communities. The formation of attitudes towards traditional minorities is influenced by the political presentations of this topic. Pupils perceive foreigners

mainly as a low-skilled labour force. Approximately the same number of pupils fear that foreigners will take away our jobs if they come to Slovakia in large numbers. The authors also tried to record attitudes towards specific groups. These included attitudes towards Muslims, refugees or Vietnamese. Almost 35% of the respondents completely or more agree with the statement that Muslims live according to rules that are contrary to the customs and traditions in our country and therefore should not live in Slovakia. Almost 50% of pupils disagree with this statement completely or more. 34.1% agree (completely or more) and 16.3% disagree (completely or more) that the Islamic world has greatly enriched science and culture in the past. 76.6% of children agreed and 16.1% disagreed with the statement that refugees are people who had to flee their country because they feared for their lives and should therefore be helped. 45% of the pupils were convinced that refugees bring various diseases to our country, while 29.7% disagreed.

The attitudes of young people towards international migration are presented in their publication by the authors Štefančík and Lenč (2012). Their research was carried out at the turn of 2011 and 2012 in the environment of secondary (vocational and high school) and university students aged 16 to 23 years. It took the form of interviews in focus groups in Trnava, Košice, Senec, Poprad, Nitra, Bratislava and Handlová. The research showed some differences between secondary and university students, not in terms of attitude towards migrants, but in terms of expression and interest in the topic under discussion. For secondary school students (usually without a high school diploma) the topic of migration was uninteresting, their attitude towards migrants was the most negative. A high degree of stereotyped thinking was present in their statements. In all groups, migrants were immediately associated with Muslims. The exceptions were the group of university students from Košice, which showed the highest level of tolerance and friendliness and the lowest level of stereotyping. All groups expressed negative attitudes (although in varying intensity) towards labour migrants. The overwhelming majority of young respondents expect migrants to take an active approach to integration, especially in the form of learning the Slovak language. The authors see the reasons for these attitudes in the very associations that the respondents have with migrants. They imagine them as persons with different features, culture and religion. Another factor is the absence of personal experience with migrants and the influence of negative media presentations about migration and migrants (Štefančík – Lenč, 2012, pp. 196–198).

5. 4   SINCE "THE EUROPEAN MIGRATION CRISIS" IN 2015 AND 2016 AND THE PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN 2016

It is clear that the attitudes of the Slovak population towards migrants have been exacerbated by the "European migration crisis". Eurobarometer data show that although Slovaks perceived migration as a problem to about the same extent as the inhabitants of several other countries, they showed very low support for pan-European solutions to the issue and the highest degree of closed-mindedness to the arrival of migrants and refugees. Slovakia ranked last in support for making pan-European decisions on migration, allocating funding to help border states cope with the arrival of migrants, unifying legal procedures for receiving migrants, and distributing migrants evenly across all states of European Union. Up to 70% of citizens were very or somewhat worried about the arrival of refugees in Europe this year, and only 3% of respondents said they were not worried about their arrival at all. Meanwhile, respondents aged 65 and over were most worried about refugees, while those aged under 24 were the least worried. Refugees were mainly associated with attacks by Islamist extremists, maladjustment, economic costs, disease and religious intolerance in the respondents' statements. In terms of emotional attitudes, 45% of Slovaks had positive feelings about immigration in 2015, while 49% had negative feelings. Together with the Czech Republic, these figures put us in last place in the entire European Union. However, Slovaks felt more aversion towards citizens of countries outside the European Union (11% of respondents had positive feelings towards them and 89% had negative feelings) (Eurobarometer, 2015; (Mesežnikov, 2016).

These views and feelings are mainly due to lack of awareness about migrants and the migration situation and indirect experiences with migrants. Slovaks do not know the real number of migrants in the country. Most of them overestimate these numbers several times. According to a Eurobarometer survey in 2017, they overestimated them on average by up to 14 times, which puts us in last place among European Union countries. By comparison, the Bulgarians, Romanians and Poles overestimated the number of migrants on their territory by an average of 8 times, and the average of all European Union countries is an overestimation of 2.3 times. (Eurobarometer, 2015, 2017, 2018; Special Eurobarometer, 2018)

Direct, personal contact between Slovaks and migrants is very limited. More than 77% of Slovak respondents in 2017 said they met them less than once a year or not at all. This means that they are primarily shaped by indirect,

mediated experience with the topic of migration. They rely mainly on media reports about migration. As far as the media is concerned, as many as 81% of Slovaks consider the media as an important factor for the integration of immigrants. Up to 47% of respondents think that the media portray immigrants objectively, 23% very positively and 18% very negatively. In this area, Slovakia ranks last among European Union countries. For comparison, we present data from the UK, where 54% of respondents agreed with the statement that the media portray migrants very negatively. Only 22% of Slovak respondents expressed good information about migration, while 76% of respondents felt not well informed. From a pan-European perspective, young people aged 16 and over, those aged 20 and over, and respondents currently studying feel particularly well informed. Cultural distance towards migrants was monitored by other questions in this international survey. Its findings show that Slovaks are reluctant to let migrants into their neighbourhood. 34% of Slovaks did not feel comfortable with a migrant as a neighbour, and as many as 54% of respondents did not feel comfortable with a migrant as a family relative or partner (Special Eurobarometer, 2018).

Just before the outbreak of the military conflict in Ukraine, the findings of a large-scale survey of attitudes at the national level conducted by the Centre for Research on Ethnicity and Culture on a sample of 1,066 respondents were published. Their conclusions showed that Slovak society is considerably reserved towards cultural diversity. More than 70% of the respondents agreed with the statement that Slovakia is a country of Slovaks and should remain so. In their answers, Slovak culture is perceived as unchanging and the prevailing idea is that foreigners can take it away from them. Despite the fact that the number of foreigners is increasing significantly, the respondents' direct interactions with them are not increasing much. A third of respondents think that foreigners are preferred in our country and associate it mainly with working conditions and employment. According to them, social distance towards foreigners has been worsening in recent years. They mainly associate migration with concerns about deteriorating security and an increase in crime. They have a particularly negative perception of Islam. Positive attitudes were expressed by respondents towards foreigners who are highly qualified and come from culturally close countries. Slovaks should be preferred on the labour market and migrant workers should be accepted only as temporary and cheap labour (Gallová Kriglerová – Kadlečíková – Holka Chudžíková – Píšová, 2021).

Attitudes towards migrants and migration have been shaped primarily by media and political narratives during the "European refugee crisis" and the ongoing parliamentary election campaign in Slovakia. These themes resonated in almost all political and media presentations and gradually became the number one topic. Several leading political parties have declared a clearly hostile attitude towards migrants. Migrants and refugees have been associated with a sense of danger and have become a tool for fear-mongering. In this context, Chudžíkova (2016) noted the abundance of emotional language in media reports. In them, the arrival and presence of refugees was associated with metaphors evoking panic, shock, horror and tragedy. Migrants and refugees were referred to in the media as a homogeneous mass, incompatible with our traditions, threatening European and Christian ways of life. They associated the threat with culturally distinct groups of migrants, especially Africans, Muslims and the Muslim community in Slovakia (Mesežnikov, 2016). These statements encouraged a sense of great cultural distance towards migrants in general. In pre-election fight, the rhetoric of the ruling parties included references and direct statements about the need for protection from migrants. In the online media environment, on social networks, unsubstantiated information was disseminated, which was in the nature of conspiracies, hoaxes, cartoons and jokes. There were numerous reports about terrible conditions in refugee camps, loss of life and casualties, huge numbers of migrants and refugees in Europe and Slovakia, Muslim invasion, looting, rape, destruction of Christian traditions, world war, physical danger, sexual assaults and terrorism (Letavajová, 2019).

In the following section we present the conclusions of the research on the attitudes and perceptions of migration and the migration crisis among a specific group of the population – university students. In the research we conducted in 2020, we focused mainly on students' knowledge about migrants and their narrower subgroup – refugees, to what extent they are interested in the topic, from what sources they draw their knowledge about migration, what attitudes, images and emotions towards migrants they hold and how they were influenced in this regard by the events of 2015 and 2016, when the so-called "European migration crisis" was at its peak. In the context of previous studies that mention the influence of education and age on attitudes towards the topic of migration, we tried to find out whether the attitudes of young and educated people are in any way specific or different from the attitudes of other groups of the population. We tried to meet these objectives with a questionnaire survey conducted in 2020. We conducted the research using the online questionnaire technique among full–time, part–time and doctoral students of the Faculty of Arts of the Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra. A total of 301 students participated, 247

women and 54 men. We focused mainly on the cognitive, partly also emotional and conative component of attitudes. In the first phase, we subjected the students' responses to quantitative analysis (existence and frequency of occurrence of specific responses), followed by a qualitative (interpretative) analysis of the data. On the basis of similarity, we created categories of responses with identical meaning or connotation, which we analyzed.

Research has shown that university students' attitudes towards migrants and refugees are generally quite positive and open-minded. In the introduction, we discussed the cognitive – cognitive side of attitudes. The largest group of students (69.7%) placed the greatest importance on the definition of the term "migrant" in its distinct nationality and the phenomenon of crossing national borders. More than twoo thirds of respondents agreed that refugees are persons who have left their country for some reason. They specify these reasons as: war (30.2%), political regime or instability (15.6%), economic situation (9.3%), bad conditions in the country (8%), religious conditions (7.6%), danger (7%) and various other reasons (7%). However, it is clear from the responses of a minority of students that they only view these phenomena from a particular angle. They see the terms "migrant" and "refugee" as synonymous. They define or associate them with images and ideas of particular groups and specific situations. In particular, they identify "migrants" with refugees, labour migrants, Syrians, Africans or dark-skinned people. They mainly associate the term "refugees" with groups of migrants, labour migrants, Africans, young men, Romanians, Serbs, Vietnamese, Muslims, families with children, refugees in boats or refugee camps.

Unlike the already mentioned Eurobarometer statistics, which say that Slovaks significantly overestimate the number of migrants (up to 14 times), our findings among students speak precisely about relatively correct estimates or more frequent underestimation of the number of migrants and refugees. These findings may suggest that students do not perceive the numbers as high and probably not as problematic. This fact may play an important role in shaping students' overall attitudes towards migrants. They are also quite correct about the most common countries of origin of foreigners and asylum seekers. They most often mention those which have actually been producing large numbers of refugees for several years and decades, and whose applications are also recorded in our country. These include Syria, Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan. In addition, countries that we associate mainly with labour migration rather than refugees – Ukraine, Serbia, Romania and Vietnam – also feature prominently. This suggests a link between the idea of 'refugee' and labour migration. These findings confirm assumptions about young educated people being more open to difference and less prone to stereotyping.

The next ambit examined concerned the events of 2015 and 2016. In their statements, the students correctly named the countries most affected by the crisis, from which the largest numbers of migrants have flowed into Europe. Students mainly cited war and the war situation in the country of origin (38%) as reasons for the arrival of migrants in this period, while work (16.3%) and economic reasons and finances (17.7%) were also frequent. The following questions map the impact of the events on the Slovak asylum system. The results showed that about one third of the students believe that the number of asylum seekers has changed very significantly or significantly as a result of the "crisis". Another third see the increase in their post as negligible.

Public opinion and the opinion of Slovaks about migrants in 2015 and 2016 was influenced by the images produced by the political scene during the election campaign. However, our findings showed that the majority of students were rather or not at all influenced by the political debate during the elections (59.2%) and only 14.3% of them were rather or strongly influenced. The approach of Slovakia and European countries to the "European migration crisis" was assessed neutrally by almost half of the respondents.

Regarding attitudes towards "migrants", almost 40% of respondents rated them as neutral, 21% of respondents were negative and almost 40% positive. In the case of attitudes towards "refugees", 33% were negative. However, what is quite interesting is that more than half of the students stated that their attitude towards migrants and refugees has not changed as a result of the migration crisis.

The role of emotions and feelings in shaping students' attitudes towards migrants is also evident. Within the cognitive, knowledge aspect of students' attitudes towards migrants, we observed a relative correspondence (for the majority of students) of ideas with the real situation, even underestimating the numbers of migrants and refugees. It is clear that students have knowledge about migrants and migration. However, the analysis of the emotional side of feelings shows a greater distance towards migrants and a more frequent identification with specific groups. The images and primary images that students evoke with migrants are already more concrete and more often associated with certain situations or images of the migrant or refugee are more negative.

A sense of threat and fear towards migrants and refugees appeared more frequently in the students' responses. Threats were felt especially from the cultures towards which they perceived the greatest distance (geographical distance, cultural and religious difference, physical differences), i.e. dark-skinned people, Africans, Muslims. They feared threats to their economic level, pressure on the labour market – fear of the arrival of economic migrants, specifically Serbs, Romanians

but also migrants from poorer countries or backgrounds in general. Another source of negative attitudes was the fear of threats to cultural integrity – European, Christian, Slovak – that shape attitudes towards Muslims, Africans, young male migrants and others. These attitudes were also manifested in a greater inclination and identification of the respondents with the approach of the Slovak Republic, which was stricter and more rejecting in international solutions to the migration situation compared to other European countries.

The research predicted that university students' interest in migration would be higher and more active as in the case of other population groups. However, the findings proved otherwise. Students declared little (mainly passive or no) interest in the topic. Male respondents were more active in this area. For women, there is a change and increase in interest in connection with the 'migration crisis'. They learn about migration mainly from impersonal mediated sources (internet, TV). However, it is significant that most students view media reports with detachment and do not consider their coverage of migrants or the migration issue to be adequate and objective. These young people are mostly not influenced by the media or the political debate, and specifically not when deciding on their electoral preferences.[7]

5. 5   AFTER THE OUTBREAK OF MILITARY CONFLICT IN UKRAINE IN 2022

A significant turning point in the development of the migration situation in Slovakia, but also a fundamental factor in the formation of attitudes towards migrants, was the mass arrival of the Ukrainian population as a result of the military conflict in Ukraine from February 2022. In the course of a few months, the number of Ukrainians in our territory increased by approximately 90,000 (PPZ ÚHaCP, 1st half 2022). The events caused a huge wave of solidarity in Slovakia and the activation of civil society, which often replaced the state in helping the newly arrived Ukrainians.

The population helped the Ukrainian emigrants financially[8] and material assistance, provided housing. Many of them got involved in volunteer activities directly at the border or in the interior. They helped specific persons individually or through organizations (mainly from the non-governmental sector), responded to calls (one of the most prominent was the initiative "Who will help Ukraine?"[9])

These tendencies are proven by a survey carried out as part of the project "How are you doing, Slovakia?"[10] („Ako sa máte, Slovensko?"), in which the Institute of Sociology, the Institute of Social Communication Research of the Slovak Republic and the agencies MNFORCE and Seesame cooperated. According to him[11] in April 2022, the willingness of Slovaks to help the Ukrainian population has not changed significantly since the outbreak of the conflict. They mostly want to contribute by a gift in kind (61.7%), prepare and distribute food (49.6%), contribute financially (37.4%). According to the findings, their declared willingness is directly related to who they consider responsible for the war in Ukraine. Those who regularly watch news on television, newspapers and radio and people who approve of Slovakia's membership in NATO want to help more. Non-voters, the elderly and those who could not be vaccinated against the coronavirus showed less willingness to help.

However, support and assistance to Ukrainians is gradually weakening. The change to negative attitudes and moods, the weakening of support for Ukraine and Ukrainian emigrants in Slovakia are illustrated by surveys of the Institute of Sociology and the Center for Social and Psychological Sciences of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, conducted in March and December 2022. Meanwhile, immediately after Russia's invasion of Ukraine in 2022, 40% of respondents agreed that Ukrainians can apply for asylum without limits, at the end of the year only 30%. Initially, 42% agreed with their further stay and integration, later only 36%. The authors of the survey justified the downward trend mainly by the worsening economic situation, price increases and the spread of misinformation (Papcunova, 2023).

---

[7]   More detailed results of the research were published in the monograph "Modern migration in public, media and political debate" (Letavajová – Chlebcová Hečková – Krno – Bošelová, 2020) and the study "Experiences of university students with migrants in Slovakia and the level of their acceptance" (Letavajová, 2021).

[8]   E.g. through the Darujme.sk service, which is operated by the Center for Philanthropy in Bratislava, it was possible to collect 5,500,000 euros from more than 56,000 people in the first year since the outbreak of the conflict. (https://darujme.sk/blog/rok-solidarity-s-ukrajinou/).

[9]   https://ktopomozeukrajine.sk/.

[10]   https://www.akosamateslovensko.sk/.

[11]   Willingness to help Ukrainians is not decreasing. Those who blame the US and NATO for the invasion of Russia want less help. (https://www.akosamateslovensko.sk/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/ASMS_Ochota_pomoct_Ukrajine_APR2022.pdf).

One of the factors in the increase in negative attitudes towards Ukrainians is the increasing number of Slovaks who blame the West and Ukraine itself for the outbreak of the armed conflict. These findings come from a Globsec survey (Globsec, 2022) conducted in the V4 countries in 2022. Compared to the other three countries, Slovakia has the most negative attitude towards Ukrainian refugees. About 43% of respondents blame the conflict in Ukraine on Russia, 39% on the US and NATO, and 7% on Ukraine itself. In this context, up to 33% of respondents talk about the increase in crime in connection with Ukrainians, 52% see Slovakia's decision to accept Ukrainian refugees negatively, 68% want to reduce aid to Ukrainians. In the neighbouring Czech Republic, 25% aid reduction is in favor, in Poland 11% and in Hungary 15%. The persistence of negative sentiments was also confirmed by their repeated research in March 2023, according to which the overwhelming majority still have a negative attitude towards refugees.

The attitudes of Slovaks towards Ukrainian refugees were also mapped by a survey by the Focus agency in June 2022, commissioned by the Milan Šimečka Foundation. Almost 64% of respondents identified refugees as a burden, and less than 90% of respondents think that the state should care more about its own citizens than Ukrainians (SITA, 2022).

A year after the outbreak of the war (February 2023), it was conducted a survey within the framework of the Reviv EU project financed by the European Union (Reviv EU, 2023). This extensive survey shows that the attitudes of people in Slovakia towards refugees from Ukraine are rather negative. Most respondents fear that the arrival of people from Ukraine will reduce the quality of public services and weaken the Slovak economy. Almost half of the respondents (44%) think that refugees from Ukraine make Slovakia a worse place to live (only refugees from the Middle East and Africa fared worse, while they perceive the Vietnamese, Chinese or even Russians more positively).

The change in attitudes towards migrants after the outbreak of the conflict in Ukraine is also noticeable in the context of international research such as the Eurobarometer. In winter of 2021 (before the conflict broke out), Slovaks perceived health (44%) and the economic situation (39%) as the biggest challenges facing their country. Only 4% of respondents saw immigration as a problem. The overall average of European Union 27 countries in this indicator reached 8%. (Standard Eurobarometer 94, Winter 2020 – 2021) In summer of 2022, they saw price increases, inflation and rising costs of living as the biggest challenge (54% of Eropean Union inhabitants, 69% of Slovak inhabitants). Immigration was seen as a problem by a higher percentage of respondents than a year earlier. 64% fully or them partially agreed with financial aid to Ukraine

(the European Union average was 81%). (Standard Eurobarometer 97, Summer 2022) In autumn 2023, 16% of Slovaks perceive immigration as a challenge (European Union average 20%). The arrival of people from countries outside the Eropean Union evokes a completely negative emotion in half of Europeans, in the case of Slovakia it is up to 75% of respondents. 57% of the interviewed Slovaks rather or completely disagree with the fact that immigrants contribute positively to the country, which is again more than the average of European Union countries. Only 34% of respondents agree with financial aid to Ukraine. 57% of them agree that the state should help refugees. (Standard Eurobarometer 100, Autumn 2023)

It is clear from the research that immediately after the outbreak of the conflict, Slovaks showed a great deal of solidarity and willingness to help the population of war-affected Ukraine. Confronted with the reduction of social security and the polarization of society according to who they called guilty, the will to help Ukrainians is decreasing.

In conclusion, we present the overall development of attitudes towards migration based on the Eurobarometer survey. Every year, it finds out what are the main problems facing their own country. We were interested in the extent to which immigration is important to them in this respect. It is clear from the Table 8 that immigration, as a phenomenon that Slovakia has to deal with, is given relatively low importance. Until 2011, they perceive it only as of little importance. The largest percentage (19%) of respondents cited it as important in 2015, at the height of the migration crisis. Although the real number of migrants did not increase in this period, public opinion was significantly influenced by media and political narratives. After the outbreak of the military conflict in Ukraine in 2022, when a large number of Ukrainians came to our country in a relatively short period of time, 3% of respondents saw immigration as a problem. The following year, 8% and in 2023, this number is reduced to 6%. Another important fact is that Slovak respondents perceived immigration in all monitored years from 2004 to 2024 as a significantly smaller problem than the average of all European Union countries. They expect a solution to immigration (just like the inhabitants of the other surveyed countries) rather from the European Union itself. In 2015, up to 58% of Slovaks saw it as a problem of the European Union.

Table 8. Immigration as one of the two most important problems facing their own country according to the Eurobarometer survey (Data in %)

	Immigration as a problem facing one's own country	
Year	Slovak respondents	Average of EU countries
2004	1	12
2005	1	14
2006	2	14
2007	3	15
2008	1	11
2009	1	9
2010	1	9
2011	10	20
2012	0	8
2013	0	10
2014	9	21
2015	19	36
2016	10	26
2017	11	22
2018	9	21
2019	7	17
2020	4	11
2021	2	10
2022	3	8
2023	8	14
2024	6	16

Source: Eurobarometer, 2015 – 2019, spring 2004

5. 6 EVALUATION

A number of relevant scientific works have been written on the issue of the attitudes of the Slovak population towards foreigners, migrants and specific groups such as refugees, Muslims or Ukrainians. It is evident from them that Slovaks are still rather sceptical and hostile towards foreigners. These tendencies are documented by research carried out at both national and international level. Negative attitudes are held especially towards foreigners who come from culturally different backgrounds. The source of their social distance is still the lack of personal experience (despite the constantly increasing number of foreigners on our territory), media and political narratives that use and abuse the topic of migration for their own benefit. They give the population the idea that foreigners are to be feared, that they are a security risk, and that they take away the social security of the local population. As research has shown, Slovaks often uncritically adopt these ideas in their rhetoric on migration. However, not all population groups hold the same views on this topic. It has been shown over a long period of time (across several periods when our country has had to face migration waves) that a more positive perception of migrants and a lower level of social distance towards them is held especially by the younger and educated, those with direct experience of foreigners. We specifically targeted university students. It turned out that they are more oriented in this topic, they have more relevant knowledge about migration. Even though many of them still have ideas based on stereotypes, in most cases they are guided by a judgement based on rational knowledge, they are also more resistant to media and political narratives about migration. In our opinion, it is through a young and educated generation that social attitudes based on false information, stereotypes and prejudices can be changed.

6 CONCLUSION

Slovakia's last experience with the massive movement of refugees to its territory (or through its territory) after the outbreak of war in Ukraine in 2022 confirmed what researches have been pointing to since the 1990s. They demonstrate a otherness in the attitudes towards migrants, refugees or foreigners with a different faith, skin colors, origin from distant countries, often built on stereotypes and prejudices. The public, politicians and media had no problem with accepting refugees from Ukraine. They assumed, if not the same, then at least similar social and cultural norms and rules, education, knowledge and faith. The similarity of the language also helped. The state provided them with support in the form of allowances for housing, clothing, and free travel. In the media, expressions like „wave" were associated with the number of refugees, and in their case, they were also associated with the wave of aid. Over time, the image of Ukrainians, like Romanians and Serbs in the territory of Slovakia, changed to the image of cheap labour.

In the case of the migration crisis that broke out in 2015, during which hundreds of thousands of migrants and refugees from countries outside Europe arrived in Europe, the Slovak government behaved differently. It refused their redistribution in the form of mandatory quotas, and demanded the strengthening of the Schengen border. Slovak politicians and the media scared the public with the threat of increased crime, including violent crimes and terrorism. On the other hand, some media were opposed to the government's position, questioned its decisions and asked for help to migrants. The public has a negative attitude towards migrants and refugees from geographically more distant countries, who are assumed to have different cultural, social values, or a different faith which is confirmed by repeated research, which we also write about in this monograph. In the past, the racist and xenophobic statements of politicians, the negative media image, as well as the attitude of the public were primarily associated with the Roma population, who have lived in Slovakia for centuries.

Before 2015, it was mainly the radical political party „Ľudová strana Naše Slovensko", whose chairman was convicted in 2022 for spreading neo-Nazi symbolism. The aforementioned party gained popularity, thanks to which in a relatively short time it entered first regional and later national politics. Probably thanks to this, politicians from the so-called traditional political parties started to use the tactics of spreading prejudices and stereotypes against "others", fear of other cultures, as well as the need to protect their people from danger.

The experience of the Slovak public with foreigners is much smaller compared to countries with a colonial past such as France, Spain or Britain. During communism, the arrival of foreigners in Slovakia was mostly associated with

studying at universities, or within the framework of economic cooperation organized by the state. After the borders were opened after the fall of communism in the fall of 1989, migration in Slovakia increased. From the beginning, however, the departure of Slovaks abroad increased in particular. After Slovakia joined the European Union and Schengen in 2004, the arrival of foreigners to the territory of Slovakia increased but compared to other European countries, their share of the total number of inhabitants is still one of the lowest. And that even after the „European migration crisis" in 2015. At that time, experiences with foreigners in Slovakia were primarily associated with citizens of European countries, including Ukraine, Romania and Serbia, especially with cheap labour.

As surveys have shown, several media and political images about migrants have been adopted by the public itself. Almost half of the adults in Slovakia in 2015 perceived the arrival of refugees as a problem. About the same proportion were quite or very worried about them. (Dubéci, 2015) Since the majority of inhabitants do not have direct experience with foreigners who come from the so-called third countries with a different culture or faith are much more influenced by the attitude of politicians and the image of other countries in the media. This is primarily about older generations, the so-called Generation X and Boomers. And not only in classical news, but also in films, books and on the Internet. Our research indicates that especially young people with higher education are more positively inclined towards migrants and refugees. However, they also tend to generalize, stereotype and attribute the same characteristics to the entire group. According to our findings, young people are not influenced by the opinions of politicians and the media. Based on these findings, we consider important:

1. Above all, education for tolerance of other cultures, human rights, mutual assistance and integration, which, however, must not remain only in schools.
2. In the case of the older generation, it is necessary to spread the mentioned ideas through integrative media contents in classical media, in books and films.
3. In the case of the so-called millennials, but also generation Z, which is already leaving schools, it is necessary to find a way to spread the mentioned ideas mainly through social networks such as YouTube and Instagram.
4. Use social networks that allow the media, non-profit organizations, but also migrants, refugees and foreigners to reach the general public.
5. In relation to journalistic practice, it is necessary to appeal to journalists to avoid simplification in media presentations, to enable the presentation of

the diversity of participating actors, to critically shed light on the problems of coexistence between the majority society and the minority, and to avoid generalization and essentialization.
6. Ensure that political and media narratives in relation to migration are perceived and interpreted rationally, critically, based on real facts from verified sources.

It is evident that migration is one of the most significant problems that the European Union has faced since its inception. The awareness of this fact, the effort to find solutions and the need to coordinate procedures are evident in several reactions of the European Union to migration waves, which have intensified especially in recent years and decades. Even the inhabitants of individual member states are more or less aware of migration as a challenge or a problem that must be solved within the framework of national policies or the common policy of all 27 countries of the European Union. These tendencies are documented in individual Eurobarometer public opinion polls.

During the "European migration crisis" in 2015 and 2016, many politicians within the European Union called for assistance to migrants, their integration and a redistribution of responsibility among all member states. Slovak politicians used the topic of "migrants" for their political ambitions and, in addition to spreading fear, began to question the position of the union. Euroscepticism grew stronger in the programs of political parties. Thanks to this, after the last elections to the European Parliament, right-wing, nationalist and conservative (we can even say radical) politicians won more votes than in the past.

Europe will have to look for a compromise, but also ways to reassure the public, to look for forms of integration of foreigners into society, including mutual acceptance. The most difficult challenge for global society will be to find solutions to problems, including crises, wars, issues of access to water, food, health conditions, including the observance of human rights directly in the territories where people were born, so that mass migration does not occur. However, the centuries during which the mentioned problems have not been solved leave us pessimistic.

Also for this reason, we assume that the migration of religiously, culturally and socially different populations will continue in the world. That is why we consider monographs like this one important. Above all, in the area of monitoring the attitudes of the majority towards minorities, but also the factors that determine these attitudes and social moods, including media and political narratives about migration.

7 SLOVAK SUMMARY/ RESUMÉ

Slovenská republika je už dvadsať rokov súčasťou Európskej únie so všetkým, čo k tomu patrí, vrátane hľadania spoločných riešení migrácie medzi parlamentmi a vládami členských štátov, poslancami a vedením Európskeho parlamentu, Európskou komisiou a ďalšími vládnymi i mimovládnymi činiteľmi. Migračnú politiku Európskej únie výrazne determinuje aj verejnosť, ktorá prostredníctvom volieb ovplyvňuje zloženie vlád jednotlivých štátov, ako aj zloženie Európskeho parlamentu.

Sumarizujúc vývoj migrácie po roku 2004 sa mobilita obyvateľstva v posledných rokoch zintenzívnila. Týka sa to všetkých druhov migrácie, ale najmä pracovnej migrácie a migrácie utečencov. V roku 2015 Európa čelila vážnej humanitárnej výzve v podobe príchodu viac ako milióna migrantov. Títo migranti najčastejšie pochádzali z krajín ako Sýria, Afganistan, Eritrea a Nigéria a prevažná väčšina z nich smerovala do Nemecka, ako aj do Maďarska a Švédska. Ďalšia migračná vlna zasiahla Európu v podobe utečencov z Ukrajiny po vypuknutí vojny na ich území v roku 2022. Spočiatku smerovali najmä do susedných krajín, vrátane Slovenska a Poľska, neskôr predovšetkým na západ Európy. Dva roky po vypuknutí vojny evidovali v štátoch Európskej únie až 4,31 milióna ukrajinských utečencov.

Naliehavosť a pretrvávajúca situácia spôsobili, že otázka migrantov vyvolala v európskych krajinách širokú škálu reakcií a stala sa bežnou a povinnou súčasťou verejného, mediálneho, ale aj politického diskurzu.

Aj napriek tomu, že počet migrantov na Slovensku sa od jeho vstupu do Európskej únie dynamicky zvyšuje, v porovnaní s ostatnými členskými krajinami je stále jeden z najnižších (v roku 2018 dosiahol ich podiel na celkovom počte obyvateľov Slovenska 2,2 %). Medzi pracovnými migrantmi, ktorí na Slovensku prevažujú, sú to najmä cudzinci zo Srbska, Rumunska, Maďarska, Českej republiky a Ukrajiny. Slovensko sa vyznačuje jednou z najprísnejších utečeneckých politík.

Do roku 2017 prevládali na Slovensku cudzinci z krajín Európskej únie. Po roku 2017, ale najmä po vypuknutí vojny na Ukrajine počet cudzincov zo štátov mimo Európskej únie presiahol 82% z celkového počtu cudzincov.

Napriek tomu téma migrácie na Slovensku veľmi výrazne rozvírila verejnú diskusiu. Táto téma polarizovala spoločnosť v kruhoch laickej i odbornej verejnosti, v politických a mediálnych diskurzoch. V diskusii o problematike migrácie sa odráža niekoľko súvislostí a základných princípov. Jedným z nich je historicky založená tendencia silnej etnizácie verejného priestoru a tlak na monokultúrnosť krajiny. Čoho dôkazom je aj divergentnosť v prístupe politikov, médií i verejnosti k migrantom počas „európskej migračnej krízy" v rokoch 2015 a 2016 a migrantom z Ukrajiny po vypuknutí vojny na ich území v roku 2022.

Ďalším faktorom je absentujúca alebo nedostatočná skúsenosť obyvateľov Slovenska s migrantmi na vlastnom území. Využitie či zneužitie témy v rámci

politickej komunikácie predovšetkým v čase volieb spôsobilo tlak aj na mediálnu a spoločenskú komunikáciu. Výsledkom týchto tlakov bola všeobecná diskusia založená na sprostredkovaných informáciách, domnienkach, predsudkoch a stereotypoch, prílišnom zjednodušení alebo problematizovaní situácie.

Predkladaná vedecká monografia vychádza pri príležitosti 20. výročia prijatia Slovenskej republiky do Európskej únie. Prezentuje výsledky výskumu zameraného na novodobé migrácie a ich odraz vo verejnej mienke. Jej autormi sú pracovníci Filozofickej fakulty Univerzity Konštantína Filozofa v Nitre, ktorí sa dlhodobo zaoberajú témou migrácie, skúmali jej prezentáciu, dôsledky a vnímanie medzi majoritným obyvateľstvom. Doc. Mgr. Silvia Letavajová, PhD. je etnologička a kulturologička, ktorá sa zaoberá problematikou utečencov, komunít, ktoré vznikajú medzi migrantmi, zmiešanými manželstvami Slovákov s cudzincami. Prof. PhDr. Svetozár Krno, CSc. z katedry filozofie a politológie sa odborne venuje analýze spoločenských procesov a teórii politických strán. Mgr. Andrea Chlebcová Hečková, PhD. pôsobí na katedre žurnalistiky a nových médií a vo svojom výskume sa zameriava na mediálnu komunikáciu, mediálnu etiku, predsudky a stereotypy v médiách a vplyv médií na politickú kultúru.

Predmetná vedecká monografia sa zaoberá problematikou migrácie, ktorej Slovensko čelí ako člen Európskej únie od roku 2004. Vychádza z publikácie z roku 2020 pod názvom „Novodobé migrácie vo verejnej, mediálnej a politickej diskusii", zameranej na „európsku migračnú krízu" v rokoch 2015 a 2016. Monografia reviduje, aktualizuje a rozširuje tieto texty, pričom zahŕňa údaje z rokov 2004 až 2024. Hodnotí situáciu v oblasti migrácie pred krízou a skúma vývoj v posledných rokoch, poukazuje na to, ako je migrácia zobrazovaná a komunikovaná v médiách a politických diskusiách, ako sa vyvýjali postoje verejnosti k migrantom na Slovensku. Výskum, prezentovaný v monografii je rozdelený do štyroch častí:

1. Migračná situácia (2004 – 2024): komplexný prehľad migrácie na Slovensku vrátane kľúčových míľnikov a demografických zmien.
2. Mediálna reprezentácia migrácie: zobrazovania migrantov v médiách vrátane prezentácie „migračnej krízy" v roku 2015, utečeneckej krízy v roku 2022 a ich vplyvu na verejnú mienku.
3. Politické aspekty migrácie: politický diskurz okolo migrácie na Slovensku vrátane polarizácie názorov a reflexie témy migrácie u politických strán.
4. Postoje verejnosti k migrantom: vnímanie migrácie Slovákmi, s osobitným zameraním na postoje mladých ľudí, najmä vysokoškolákov.

Monografia sa začína kapitolou „Vývoj migračnej situácie v rokoch 2004 až 2024 a charakteristika cudzincov na Slovensku". Tá je chápaná ako teoretický a kontextuálny rámec a základ pre sledovanie čiastkových tém, ktorým sa venuje v nasledových textoch. Podáva vysvetlenie ústredných pojmov, sleduje históriu migrácie, kontakt s cudzincami priamo na svojom území, charakterizuje súčasnú migráciu a osobitne situáciu utečencov.

Práca pokračuje časťou, ktorá popisuje zobrazenie témy novodobej migrácie v médiách. Zameriava sa na online médiá, prístup samotných novinárov pri informovaní o migrácii, poukazuje na rôznorodý prístup tvorcov mediálneho obsahu, podáva obraz o realizovaných výskumoch "európskej migračnej krízy" v médiách.

Ďalšia kapitola sa zaoberá politologickými aspektmi reflexie migrácie na Slovensku. Venuje sa reflexii problematiky nárastu masovej migrácie zo strany európskych štruktúr a jej odrazu vo verejnej mienke Slovenskej republiky. Osobitne sa zameriava na percepciu témy medzi politickými stranami na Slovensku.

Napokon monografia sleduje postoje domáceho obyvateľstva k migrantom a migráciám. Zaoberá sa vnímaním migrantov v kontexte národných a medzinárodných vedeckých výskumov. Prináša zistenia z rozsiahleho dotazníkového prieskumu realizovaného medzi študentmi nitrianskej univerzity. Sleduje ich vedomosti o migrácii, analyzuje konatívne a emocionálne aspekty tohto postoja. Práca analyzuje postoj vysokoškolákov k migrantom, sleduje, ako je migrácia a migranti zobrazovaní v ich príbehoch a diskusiách, aké komunikačné prostriedky využívajú pri rozprávaní o tejto téme, ktoré oblasti vnímajú ako dominantné alebo problematické a čo ovplyvňuje ich názor.

Kľúčové zistenia a postrehy:
- Migračné trendy: Rozšírenie Európskej únie v roku 2004 a následné otvorenie pracovných trhov boli kľúčové pri formovaní migračných tokov v rámci Európskej únie, najmä zo Slovenska a ďalších nových členských štátov do starších krajín Európskej únie.
- Vplyv „utečeneckej krízy" v roku 2015: Kríza mala na Európsku úniu veľký dopad, čo sa odrazilo v migračných politikách aj verejnej mienke. Slovensko zaznamenalo len okrajový nárast počtu migrantov, čo poukazuje na jeho úlohu tranzitnej krajiny. Napriek tomu sa téma migrácie stala kľúčovou v politidkej, mediálnej aj verejnej diskusii.
- Kríza na Ukrajine: Prebiehajúci konflikt na Ukrajine zásadne zmenil počet a demografické zloženie cudzineckej populácie na Slovensku, vo verejnom priestore spôsobil vlnu občianskeho aktivizmu aj odporu.

- Médiá a politický diskurz: Zobrazovanie migrácie v médiách a na politickej scéne zohralo zásadnú úlohu pri formovaní verejnej mienky, pričom táto téma sa na Slovensku výrazne polarizovala.
- Postoje verejnosti: Slovenská verejná mienka o migrácii sa v priebehu rokov vyvíjala pod vplyvom mediálnej reprezentácie, politického diskurzu a reálnej situácie v oblasti migrácie.

Výsledky zistení zdôrazňujú vplyv členstva Slovenska v Európskej únii, zameriavajú sa na výzvy, ktoré predstavuje novodobá migrácia, potrebu účinných politík a vplyv verejného diskurzu na percepciu migrácie. Výskumné zistenia zdôrazňujú potrebu diferencovaného chápania migrácie, pričom si uvedomujú jej mnohostranný vplyv na spoločnosť, politiku a verejnú mienku.

Téma modernej migrácie a jej vnímania je mimoriadne aktuálna a odohráva sa takpovediac pred našimi očami. Je veľký predpoklad, že migrácia a príchod etnicky, nábožensky a sociálne rôznorodého obyvateľstva do Európy a na Slovensko bude pokračovať alebo sa zintenzívni. Sledovanie reakcií domáceho obyvateľstva bude preto mimoriadne dôležité a potrebné.

Naše zistenia pomôžu vysvetliť správanie obyvateľstva, ako aj správanie migrantov, osvetlia vzťahy medzi minoritami a majoritným obyvateľstvom. Objasnia niektoré dôsledky súčasnej migračnej situácie. Umocnia nielen orientáciu v situácii, ale aj samotnú predikciu správania a postojov verejnosti k tejto téme.

8 LIST OF GRAPHS, TABLES AND PICTURES USED

9   ABBREVIATIONS

10 INDEX OF TERMS

11 LITERATURE AND REFERENCES

A

ALLPORT, Gordon, Willard. 2004. *O povaze předsudků.* Praha: Prostor, ISBN 9788072601257.

ANDROVIČOVÁ, Jarmila. 2015. Sekuritizácia migrantov na Slovensku – analýza diskurzu. *Sociológia – Slovak Sociological Review*, Vol. 47, No. 4, pp. 319–339, ISSN 0049-1225.

B

BAHNA, Miloslav. 2011. *Migrácia zo Slovenska po vstupe do EÚ.* Bratislava: VEDA, 219 p. ISBN 978-80-224-1196-7.

BARGEROVÁ, Zuzana. 2023. Legislatívne nastavenie a strategické zakotvenie politík integrácie migrantov na Slovensku. In: Jelínková, Marie (ed.) *Lokálne politiky integrácie migrantov a ich štrukturálne mechanizmy. Porovnávacia štúdia česka, slovenská, nemecká a belgická.* Bratislava: Univerzita Komenského v Bratislave, pp. 51–78, ISBN 978-80-223-5641-1.

BARGEROVÁ, Zuzana. 2016. Migrácia ako spoločenský fenomén: historické, sociálne a právne aspekty. In: Hlinčíková, M. – Mesežnikov, G. (eds.) *Otvorená krajina alebo nedobytná pevnosť? Slovensko, migranti a utečenci.* Bratislava: Inštitút pre verejné otázky, pp. 17–39, ISBN 978-80-89345-60-1.

BEHÚŇOVÁ, Kristína − OBOŇOVÁ, Soňa. 2021. *Výročná správa o migrácii a azyle v Slovenskej republike za rok 2020. Správa Národného kontaktného bodu Európskej migračnej siete v Slovenskej republike.* Bratislava, 95 p. ISBN 978-80-89506-97-2.

BILIC, Michal. 2015. *Zahraničná migrácia a jej vplyv na životnú úroveň obyvateľov a krajinu Slovenska*. Nitra: Univerzita Konštantína Filozofa, 171 p. ISBN 978-80-55808-70-3.

BODKOVÁ, Denisa. 2017. Strelili ju do hlavy, prežila a získala Nobelovú cenu. Malála je len jedna z mnohých žien, ktoré sa svojou odvahou zapísali do dejín. 2017, *Refresher*. 18. 11. 2017. [online] [cited 2020-17-7] Available at: https://refresher.sk/49243-Strelili-ju-do-hlavy-prezila-a-ziskala-Nobelovu-cenu-Malala-je-len-jedna-z-mnohych-zien-ktore-sa-svojou-odvahou-zapisali-do-dejin.

BODNÁROVÁ, Bernardína. 1996. *Postoje občanov SR k prisťahovalcom. Aspekty národnej identity v strednej Európe*. Bratislava: SAV.

BORÁROSOVÁ, Ingrid – ŽÚBOROVÁ, Viera. 2016. Migrácia v médiách: utečenci verzus migranti. Chápanie migrantov a utečencov v mediálnom priestore v kontexte pozitívnej a negatívnej mediatizácie. *Central European Journal of Politics,* Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 1– 15, Ústí nad Labem: Univerzita Jana Evangelisty Purkyně, 2016, ISSN 2464-479X, s. 1–15, [online] [cited 2020-17-07] Available at:https://www.researchgate.net/publication/308971232_Migracia_v_mediach_utecenci verzus_migranti_Chapanie_migrantov_a_utecencov_v_medialnom_priestore_v_kontexte_pozitivnej_a_negativnej_mediatizacie.

BOTÍK, Ján. 2007. *Etnická história Slovenska*. Bratislava: Lúč, 231 p. ISBN 978-80-7114-650-6.

D, Ď

DIVINSKÝ, Boris. 2009. *Migračné trendy v Slovenskej republike po vstupe krajiny do EÚ (2004 – 2008)*. Bratislava: IOM, 117 p. ISBN 978-80-970274-2-1.

DIVINSKÝ, Boris. 2005. *Zahraničná migrácia v Slovenskej republike – stav, trendy, spoločenské súvislosti*. Bratislava : Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 216 p. ISBN 80-89149-04-9.

DOBROTKOVÁ. Miriam – BEKMATOV, Artur – KUCIAK, Ján – CHLEBCOVÁ HEČKOVÁ, Andrea. 2019. *Slovak Mass Media in the 21th century: Current Chalanges*. Berlín: Peter Lang, 116 p. ISBN 978-3-631-79634-4.

DOČEKALOVÁ, Markéta. 2006. *Tvůrčí psaní pro každého*. Praha: Portál, 216 p. ISBN 978-36-3179-634-4.

DORER, Johanna – MARSCHIK, Matthias. 2006. *Medien und Migration. Repräsentation und Rezeption des „Fremden" im europäischen Kontext Medienimpulze*. Heft 55, März, pp. 24–28, 2006, ISSN 2307-3187, [online] [cited 2024-6-27] Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/377873810_Medien_und_Migration_Reprasentation_und_Rezeption_des_Fremden_im_europaischen_Kontext_In_Medienimpulse_Beitrage_zur_Medienpadagogik_15_Jg_Nr1_S_24-28.

E

ETTINGER, Patrik. 2019. *Qualität der Berichterstattung über Muslime in der Schweiz*. [online] Bern: Forschungsinstitut Öffentlichkeit und Gesellschaft, Universität Zürich, ISBN 978-3-658-27711-6 [online] [cited 2020-22-07] Available at: https://www.stiftung-mercator.ch/fileadmin/documents/Projektpublikationen/Studie_Qualitaet_der_Berichterstattung_ueber_Muslime_in_der_Schweiz.pdf.

F

FILADELFIONÁ, Jarmila – GYARFAŠOVÁ, Oľga – SEKULOVÁ, Martina – HLINČÍKOVÁ, Miroslava. 2011. *Migranti na slovenskom trhu práce: problémy a perspektívy*. Bratislava: IVO, 136 p. ISBN 978-80-89345-34-2.

FLAUBERT, Gustave. 1960. *Voyage aux Pyrenees et en Corse*. Œuvres complètes II aux éditions du seuil). 148 s.

G

GÁL, Szolt, 2013, Pracovná migrácia po rozšírení Európskej únie. In: Tóth, G. (ed.) *Zborník Katedry politológie Filozofickej fakulty Univerzity Komenského v Bratislave. Aktuálne otázky, problémy a súvislosti medzinárodnej a slovenskej politiky*, *Politologica actualis,* Roč. II, Bratislava: FF UK v Bratislave, pp. 75–118, ISBN 978-80-223-3353-5.

GALLOVÁ KRIGLEROVÁ, Elena. – KADLEČÍKOVÁ, Jarmila a kol. 2009. *Kultúrna rozmanitosť a jej vnímanie žiakmi základných škôl na Slovensku*. Bratislava: Nadácia otvorenej spoločnosti, 120 p. ISBN 978-80-969271-9-7.

GALLO KRIGLEROVÁ, Elena – KADLEČÍKOVÁ, Jana – HOLKA CHUDŽÍKOVÁ, Alena – PÍŠOVÁ, Michaela. 2021. *Cudzie nechceme, svoje si nedáme. Postoje majoritnej populácie k migrácii a cudzincom na Slovensku*. Bratislava: CVEK, 132 p.

GALLOVÁ KRIGLEROVÁ, Elena. 2006. *Prieskum názorov mladých ľudí pre potreby kampane All different – All equal. Každý iný – všetci rovní*. Bratislava: Centrum pre výskum etnicity a kultúry, [online] [cited 2020-18-07] Available at: https://www.iuventa.sk/files/documents/7_vyskummladeze/spravy/davm010/vyskum_kivr.pdf.

GEISSLER, Rainer. 2010. Mediale Integration von ethnischen Minderheiten. Der Beitrag der Massenmedien zur interkulturellen Integration. In: *Zur Rolle der Medien in der Einwanderungsgesellschaft, Wiso Diskurs*, August 2010, Bonn: Fridrich-Eber-Stiftungstr, pp. 8–22. ISBN 978-3-86872-394-6.

GEISSLER, Rainer. 2014. Migration, integration und Medien. *Bundeszentrale fur politische Bildung*, 6. 10. 2014, bpb.de. [online] [cited 2020-8-4] Available at: http://www.bpb.de/gesellschaft/medien/medienpolitik/172752/migration-integration-und-medien?p=all.

GEISSLER, Reiner – PÖTTKER, Horst. 2009. *Einleitung Massenmedien und die Integration ethnischer Minderheiten in Deutschland Band 2*: Forschungsbefunde Februar 2009, 356 p. ISBN 978-3-8376-1027-7.

GONDA, Martin – CIBÍKOVÁ, Jana – GAJARSKÝ, Martin. 2014. *Rómovia, novinári a médiá*. 1. júl – 30. november 2014, Newtonmedia. [online] [cited 2024-6-27] Available at: http://romanokher.sk/?p=528.

H

HACEK, Ján. 2015. Migranti na slovenských spravodajských portáloch v roku 2014. In: Horvath, M. (ed.): *Žurnalistika, média, spoločnosť* 5. Bratislava: STIMUL, pp. 121–32. ISBN 978-80-8127-123-6.

HEGEL, Georg W. F. 1957. *Filozofia dejín*. Bratislava: Slovenské vydavateľstvo politickej literatúry, 430 p.

HLINČÍKOVÁ, Miroslava. – MESEŽNIKOV, Grigorij. (eds). 2016. *Otvorená krajina alebo nedobytná pevnosť? Slovensko, migranti a utečenci*. Bratislava: IVO/Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung, 156 p. ISBN 978-80-8934-560-1.

HLINČÍKOVÁ, Miroslava. – SEKULOVÁ, Martina. 2015. *Integrácia ľudí s medzinárodnou ochranou na Slovensku: Hľadanie východísk*. Bratislava: IVO, 181 p. ISBN 978-80-89345-52-6.

Hlinčíková, Miroslava – Lamačková, Daniela – Sekulová, Martina. 2011. *Migranti a migrantky na trhu práce v SR – identifikácia a odstraňovanie bariér diskriminácie*. Bratislava: Inštitút pre verejné otázky, 2011, 74 p. ISBN 978-80-89345-30-4.

HORVÁTHOVÁ, Agnes. 2014. Médiá zobrazujú Rómov stereotypne a často anonymne, tlačová správa. Romanokher, [online] [cited 2024-6-27] Available at: http://romanokher.sk/?p=528.

CH

CHUDŽÍKOVÁ, Alena Holka. 2016. Obraz utečencov v médiách na Slovensku. [online] In *Otvorená krajina alebo nedobytná pevnosť? Slovensko, migranti a utečenci*. Hlinčíková, Miroslava – Mesežnikov, Grigorij (eds.) Bratislava: Inštitút pre verejné otázky, Heinrich-Boll-Stiftung, pp. 95-112, ISBN 978-80-8934-560-1 [online] [cited 2020-08-04] Available at: https://cz.boell.org/sites/default/files/otvorena_krajina_alebo_nedobytna_pevnost_slovensko_migranti_a_utecenci_e.pdf.

J

JELÍNKOVÁ, Marie. 2023. Výzvy integrácie vo svetle rôznych prístupov k začleneniu migrantov. In: Jelínková, M. (ed.) *Lokálne politiky integrácie migrantov a ich štrukturálne mechanizmy. Porovnávacia štúdia Česka, Slovenska, Nemecka a Belgicka*. Bratislava: UK v Bratislave, pp. 21–25, ISBN 978-80-223-5641-1.

JURČOVÁ, Danuša. – PILINSKÁ, Viera. 2014. *Obvyklý pobyt občanov SR a odhad neevidovanej migrácie*. Bratislava: Infostat, [online] [cit. 2020-08-04] Available at: http://www.infostat.sk/vdc/pdf/Neevidovana_migracia.pdf.

JUSUFZAJOVÁ, Malala. 2013. Nádej existuje In: *Spravodajstvo Európsky parlament*. 21. 11. 2013 [online] [cited 2020-08-04] Available at: https://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/sk/press-room/20131118IPR25560/malala-jusufzajova-nadej-existuje.

K

KÁČEROVÁ, Marcela. 2016. Azylový a naturalizačný proces na Slovensku. *Slovenská štatistika a demografia*, Roč. 26, Vol. 4, pp. 54–67, ISSN 1339-6854.

KADLEČÍKOVÁ, Jana. *Odborné podklady o migrácii. Rozumne o migrácií. Manuál pre organizátorov verejných podujatí.* Bez uvedenia roku vydania, Bratislava: CVEK, pp. 5–41 [online] [cited 2020-08-04] Available at: http://cvek.sk/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/Manua%CC%81l_Rozumne-o-migracii_finalna-verzia.pdf.

KANTOROVA, Kateřina. 2007. Mediální boj o mešitu v Teplicích. In: Burgetová, E. – Černá, M. (red.) *Cizinci, našinci a média. Mediální analýzy.* Multikulturní centrum Praha, o. s. ve spolupráci s UNHCR, pp. 54–58, ISBN 80-239-8475-6.

KELLER, Jan. 2017. *Evropské rozpory ve světle migrace.* Praha: Sociologické nakladatelství (SLON), 227 p. ISBN 978-80-7419-249-4.

KENIX, Linda Jean. 2011. The Future of Alternative Media? *Observatorio, Vol.* 5, No. 1, Lisabon, Portugal: OberCom – Observatótio da Comunicação, s. pp. 187-214, ISSN 1646-5954 [online] [cited 2020-20-7] Available at: https://ir.canterbury.ac.nz/handle/10092/8762.

KERNOVÁ, Miroslava. 2019. Konšpiračné Hlavné správy reagujú na informácie o ich prepojení na Kočnera In: *omediach.com* 2019, [online] [cited 2020-18-07] Dostupné na: https://www.omediach.com /internet/16503-konspiracne-hlavne-spravy-reaguju-na-informacie-o-ich-prepojeni-na-kocnera.

KIPLING, Rudyard. 1899. *The White Mans Burden.* The New York Sun, February 1, 1899. The Times, February 4, 1899. [online] [cited 2024-09-09] Available at: https://www.kiplingsociety.co.uk/poem/poems_burden.htm.

KOŠCOVÁ, Karolína. 2012. Ako naši politici rozprávajú o migrantoch. *Menšinová politika na Slovensku. Kritický štvrťročník Centra pre výskum etnicity a kultúry*, No. 3, pp. 7–8, ISSN 1338-4864

KRNO, Svetozár. 2013. *Politické strany štátov strednej Európy.* Nitra: UKF 2013, 620 p. ISBN 978-80-558-04080-4.

KRNO, Svetozár. 2016. Východ a Západ. *Studia Politica Slovaca*, Vol. 9, No. 2, pp. 113–125, ISSN 1337-8163.

KRNO, Svetozár. 2014. *Himalájske veľmoci.* Nitra: KPEŠ FF UKF v Nitre, 220 p. ISBN 978-80-558-0713-3.

KRNO, Svetozár. 2013. *Nanga Parbat prináša šťastie aj nešťastie. Od prameňa Gangy po indický Tibet.* Bratislava: Karpaty-Infopress, pp. 20–24, ISBN 978-80-971-2561-5.

KŘÍŽKOVÁ, Martina. 2007. Neviditelná menšina – analýza mediálního obrazu českých muslimů. In: Burgetová, E. – Černá, M. (red.) *Cizinci, našinci a média. Mediální analýzy.* Multikulturní centrum Praha, o. s. ve spolupráci s UNHCR, pp. 95–105, ISBN 80-239-8475-6.

КРОПОТКИН, Пётр Алексе́евич. 1907. *Взаимная помощь какъ факторъ эволюцiи. С. – Петербург.* Товарищество «Знание» 1907, pp. 21–42. (anglická verzia: KROPOTKIN, Pyotr Alexeyevich. 1902. Mutual Aid: Factor of Evolution. McClure Phillips & Co.

L

LEMME, Sebastian. 2020. *Visualität und Zugehörigkeit Deutsche Selbst- und Fremdbilder in der Berichterstattung über Migration, Flucht und Integration.* Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 300 p. ISBN 978-3-8394-5208-0.

LETAVAJOVÁ, Silvia – DIVINSKÝ, Boris. 2019. *Náš spoločný domov. Migrácia a rozvoj na Slovensku.* Bratislava: Katolícka charita na Slovensku, 64 p. ISBN 978-80-967870-2-9.

LETAVAJOVÁ, Silvia. 2001. *Fenomén „utečenca" z hľadiska etnokultúrnych zmien na Slovensku.* Dizertačná práca. Bratislava: UK v Bratislave.

LETAVAJOVÁ, Silvia – CHLEBCOVÁ HEČKOVÁ, Andrea – KRNO, Svetozár. 2020. *Novodobé migrácie vo verejnej, mediálnej a politickej diskusii.* Nitra: UKF v Nitre, 198 p. ISBN 978-80-558-1631-9

LETAVAJOVÁ, Silvia. 2021. Antropológia a politické naratívy vy(zne)užívajúce tému novodobých migrácií. *Národopisný věstník.* Vol. 80, No. 2, pp. 51–64, ISSN 1211-8117.

LUCHT, Jens. 2006. *Der öffentlich-rechtliche Rundfunk: ein Auslaufmodell? Grundlagen – Analysen – Perspektiven.* Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 358 p. ISBN 3-531-15019-7.

M

MADLEŇÁK, Tomáš. 2020. Kočner dotoval dezinformačný portál Hlavné správy. Šéfredaktor Sopko o tom vedel a Kočnerovi písal obdivné správy. In: *tyzden.sk*, [online] [cited 2020-18-7] Available at: https://www.tyzden.sk/politika/63092/kocner-platil-hlavne-spravy-ich-sefredaktor- o-tom-vedel/.

MARCZYOVÁ, Klaudia. 2018. Integrácia cudzincov (azylantov) v Slovenskej republike – právne postavenie. *Acta Universitatis Carolinae – Juridica*, 2, pp, 119–1312, ISSN 2336-6478.

MATULIČ, Ivo – ŠKOKIC, Vlatka. 2024. Media discourses of theUkrainian refugees during the war in Ukraine. *ST-OPEN*, Vol. 5, e2024.2301.4. [online] [cited 2024-6-27] Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/381149036_Media_discourses_of_the_Ukrainian_refugees_during_the_war_in_Ukraine.

MESEŽNIKOV, Grigorij. 2016. Problematika migrácie a utečencov na Slovensku v rokoch 2015-2016: spoločenská atmosféra, verejná mienka, politickí aktéri. In: Hlinčíková, Miroslava – Mesežnikov, Grigorij (eds.). *Otvorená krajina alebo nedobytná pevnosť? Slovensko, migranti a utečenci,* Bratislava: Inštitút pre verejné otázky, pp. 113–152. ISBN 978-80-89345-60-1.

MÉSZÁROSOVÁ-LAMP, Zuzana. 2019. Migrácia – klasifikácia a teórie. *Civitas*, Vol. 25, No. 2, pp. 4–5, ISSN 1335-2652.

MORAVEC, Václav. 2010. Sociální inkluze jako jedna z hodnot a principů existence médií veřejné služby. In: Sedláková, Mária – Šlosár, Dušan (eds.) *Budovanie spoločnej cesty v sociálnej inklúzii,* Košice: UPJŠ, pp. 16–21, [online] [cited 2020-10-7] Available at: https://www.upjs.sk /public/media/17006/5%20inkluzia.pdf.

MORVAY, Peter. 2014. Je vôbec naša? In: *Sme*, [online] [cited 2020-18-7] Available at: https://komentare.sme.sk/c/7098183/je-vobec-nasa.html, 10. 2. 2014.

MORVAY, Peter. 2013. Pre turistov zakázané. In: *Sme*, [online] [cited 2020-18-7] Available at: https://komentare.sme.sk/c/6847240/pre-turistov-zakazane.html, 25. 6. 2013.

N

NAKONEČNÝ, Milan. 2009. *Sociální psychologie*. Praha: Academia, 498 p. ISBN 9788020016799.

NAVARA, Luděk. 2009. Abeceda komunistických zločinů: Od „androše" k asanaci. In: *iDnes.cz,* [online] [cited 2020-18-7] Available at: https://www.idnes.cz/zpravy/domaci/abeceda-komunistickych-zlocinu-od-androse-k-asanaci.A090102_155231_domaci_ton. 16. 9. 2020.

NÉHRÚ, Džaváharlál. 1957. *Objevení Indie*. Praha: SNPL, 587 p.

O

ODALOŠ, Pavol. 2008. O jazyku bulváru In: Bočák, Michal – Rusnák, Juraj (eds.) *Médiá a text II: zborník príspevkov z konferencie o interpretácii mediálnych textov*. Prešov: FF PU, pp. 128–32 [online] [cit. 2020-22-7] Available at: http://www.pulib.sk/web/kniznica/elpub/dokument/ Bocak1/subor/16.pdf, iSBN 978-80-8068-888-2.

OKRUHLICA, Ľubomír. 2011. Telesná lenivosť ako závislosť. *Alkoholizmus a drogové závislosti. Protialkoholický obzor,* Vol. 46, pp. 65–77, ISSN 0862-0350.

P

PAPCUNOVÁ, J. *Podpora Slovákov a Sloveniek k prijatiu odídencov z Ukrajiny postupne Klesá.* SAV24. 2. 2023 [online] [cited 2024-22-7] Available at: https://www.sav.sk/?lang=sk&doc=services-news&source_no=20&news_no=11059

PARKER, Ian, 2005. *Qualitative psychology. Introducing radical research*. Maidenhead: Open University Press, [online] [cited 2020-22-7] Available at: http://blogs.unpad.ac.id/teddykw /files/2012/08/Qualitative-Psychology.pdf.

PLAVNICKÁ, Jana – ŠLOSÁR, Dušan. 2017. Stav integrácie imigrantov na Slovensku, *Kontakt* Vol. 19, No. 4, pp. 267–273, ISSN 1212-4117.

POSPĚCH, Pavel – JUREČKOVÁ, Adéla. 2019. *Ve středu pozornosti: Mediální pokrytí tématu migrace v České republice, Estónsku a na Slovensku. Srovnávací správa*. Praha: Člověk v tísni, [online] [cited 2020-20-7] Available at: https://www.clovekvtisni.cz/media/publications/1320/file/2019_10_07_komparativni_zprava_media _a_migrace_cz_ee_sk.pdf.

PRŮCHA, Jan. 2007. *Interkulturní psychologie. (Sociopsychologické zkoumání kultur, etnik, ras a národů)*. Praha: Portál, 224 p. ISBN 9788073677091.

R

RATICA, Dušan. 2006. Fenomén emigrácie zo Slovenska v 2. polovici 20. storočia (etnologické východiská). In: Luther, Daniel (ed.) *E/Migrácie a Slovensko*, Bratislava: Ústav etnológie SAV a Ústav vedy a výskumu UMB, pp. 17–40, ISBN 80-86156-79-6.

RICHARDSON, John. 2006. *Analysing Newspapers: An Approach from Critical Discourse Analysis. London, Palgrave Macmillan.* [online] [cited 2020-22-7] Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/315685383_Analysing_Newspapers_An_approach_from_critical_discourse_analysis, ISBN 978-1403935656.

RUHRMANN, Georg – DEMREN, Songül. 2000. Wie Medien über Migranten berichten. In: Schatz Heribetz – Holtz-Bacha Christina – Nieland, Jörg-Uwe (eds.) *Migranten und Medien*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, pp. 69–81, [online] [cited 2020-17-7] Available at: http://media-diversity.org/additional-files/documents/b-studies-reports/Media reporting on Migrants [DE].pdf.

S, Š

SAID, Edward, W. 2008. *Orientalismus: Západní koncepce Orientu*. Praha: Paseka, 2008, s. 339. ISBN 978-80-7185-921-5

SEKULOVÁ, M. 2010. Objavovanie nových obzorov – pracovná migrácia z Rumunska. In: Filadelfiová, Jarmila – Gyárfášová, Oľga – Hlinčíková, Miroslava – Sekulová, Martina (eds.) *Sondy do kultúrnej diverzity na Slovensku.* Bratislava: Inštitút pre verejné otázky, 151 p. ISBN 978-80-89345-26-7.

SPÁLOVÁ, Lucia – SZABO, Peter – VITEKOVÁ, Ivana. 2017. Mediálny obraz utečeneckej problematiky v hlavných mienkotvorných denníkoch Sme a Mladá fronta dnes. In: Kraviarová, M. – Regrutová, L. (eds.) *Médiá a text 6 : zborník príspevkov z vedeckej konferencie*, Prešov: Prešovská Univerzita, pp. 97–105, ISBN 978-80-555-1934-0.

ŠMÍDOVÁ, Michaela – VÁVRA, Martin – ČÍŽEK, Tomáš. 2017. *Inventura předsudků*. Praha: Academia, 195 s. ISBN 978-80-200-2731-3.

ŠTEFANČÍK, Radoslav – DULEBOVÁ, Irina. 2017. *Jazyk a politika. Jazyky a politiky v konfliktnej štruktúre spoločnosti.* Bratislava : Vydavateľstvo Ekonóm, 193 s. ISBN 978-80-225-4414-6.

ŠTEFANČÍK, Radoslav – STRADIOTOVÁ, Eva – SERESOVÁ, Terézia. 2022. A Missing Piece: The Absence of Discussion About Integration Policy in the Slovak Migration Discourse. *Migration Letters*, Vol. 19, No. 6, pp. 971–987, ISSN 17418984.

T

TKACZYK, Michal. 2017. Between Politization and Securitization: Coverage of the European Migration Crisis in Czech online News Media. *Communication Today*, Vol. 8, No. 2, pp. 90–111, ISSN 1338-130X, [online] [cited 2024-09-02] Available at:https://www.communicationtoday.sk/politicization-securitization-coverage-european-migration-crisis-czech-online-news-media/.

TKACZYK, Michal – POSPĚCH, Pavel – MACEK , Jakub. 2015. *Analýza mediálního pokrytí uprchlické krize.* Výzkumná zpráva 14. prosince 2015, 6 p. [online] [cited 2020-17-7] Available at:https://www.researchgate.net/publication/286454922_Analyza_medialniho_pokryti_uprchlicke_krize_vyzkumna_zprava.

TUŠER, Andrej. 2010. Prejav v tlačových médiách. In: Tušer, Ivan a kol., *Praktikum mediálnej tvorby*. Bratislava: Bratislavská vysoká škola práva, pp. 87–158, ISBN 9788089447169.

TUŠER, Andrej. 2007. Stredoeurópsky rozmer slovenských regionálnych médií. In: Waschková Císařová, Lenka (ed.) *Regionální média v evropském kontextu*, Brno: MU, pp. 24, 2007 ISBN 978-80-210-4473-9.

TVRDÍKOVÁ, Michaela. 2007. *Proměny československé emigrace v letech 1948 – 1968*. Diplomová práca, Brno: Masarykova univerzita v Brne, Filozofická fakulta, 134 p.

V, W

VAŠEČKA, Michal. 2009. *Postoje verejnosti k cudzincom a zahraničnej migrácii v Slovenskej republike*. Bratislava: IOM, 139 p. ISBN 978-80-970307-0-4.

VEVERKOVÁ, Veronika. 2014. *Bulvár a bulvarizácia dennej tlače.* Ljubljana: KUD Apokalypsa, 170 p. ISBN 978-961-6894-48-7.

VIŠŇOVSKÝ, Ján. – BALÁŽ, Martin. 2012. Nastoľovanie tém a vplyv lokálnych médií na formovanie verejnej agendy: prípadová štúdia. *Communication Today,* No. 2, pp. 104–120, ISSN 1338-130X.

VRAŽDA, Daniel. 2017. *Kotleba.* Bratislava: N Press, s. r. o., 208 p. ISBN 9788097239428.

WASCHKOVÁ CÍŠAŘOVÁ, Lenka. 2013. Český lokální a regionální tisk mezi lety 1989 a 2009. Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 340 p. ISBN 978-80-210-6478-2 [online] [cited 2020-10-8] Alailable at:https://www.academia.edu/31019344/Český_lokální_a_regionální_tisk_mezi_lety_1989_a_2009.

REFERENCES

AKTUALITY.SK. 2023. Slovensko vlani evidovalo vyše tisícpercentný nárast nelegálnej migrácie. [online] [cited 2024-10-8] Alailable at:https://www.aktuality.sk/clanok/Imz0ssy/slovensko-vlani-evidovalo-vyse-tisicpercentny-narast-nelegalnej-migracie/.

AP – REUTERS. 2019. Šestnásťročný migrant z Guatemaly zomrel vo vládnom zariadení v Texase. aktuality.sk [online] [cited 2020-17-7] Available at:https://www.aktuality.sk /clanok/688771/sestnastrocny-migrant-z-guatemaly-zomrel-vo-vladnom-zariadeni-v-texase/.

AUDIOVISUAL.EC.EUROPA.EU. 2023. [online] [cited 2024-10-8] Alailable at: https://audiovisual.ec.europa.eu/en/video/I-231375.

ASYLUM AND MIGRATION. 2018. Glossary 6.0. European Migration network. European Commision. May 2018 [online] [cited 2020-03-05] Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/networks/european_migration_network/docs/interactive_glossary_6.0_final_version.pdf.

CAS.SK. 2016. Migrant vo Viedni brutálne znásilnil 10-ročného chlapčeka: Jeho výhovorka vám zdvihne žlč. cas.sk [online] [cited. 2020-17-7] Available at: https://www.cas.sk /clanok/344072/migrant-vo-viedni-brutalne-znasilnil-10-rocneho-chlapceka-jeho-nechutna-vyhovorka-vam-zdvihne-zlc/.

CAS.SK. 2017. Migrant znásilnil a zabil krásnu šudentku Mariu (†19): Ďalšie zarážajúce zistenie! cas.sk [online] [cited 2020-17-7] Available at: https://www.cas.sk/clanok/632879/migrant-znasilnil-a-zabil-krasnu-studentku-mariu-19-dalsie-zarazajuce-zistenie/.

CAS.SK. 2017. Drsné video z Benátok: Migrant (†22) sa topil v kanáli, z toho, čo sa tam dialo, budete v šoku! cas.sk [online] [cited 2020-17-7] Available at: https://www.cas.sk/clanok/502983/drsne-video-z-benatok-migrant-22-sa-topil-v-kanali-z-toho-co-sa-tam-dialo-budete-v-soku/.

CVTI. 2023. Centrum vedecko-technických informácií SR. [online] [cited 2024-18-7] Available at:https://www.cvtisr.sk/cvti-sr-vedecka-kniznica/informacie-o-skolstve/statistiky/statisticka-rocenka-publikacia/statisticka-rocenka-vysoke-skoly.html?page_id=9596.

ČSÚ. Český statistický úřad. 2004 – 2024. R02 Počet cizinců v ČR – předběžné čtvrtletní údaje; 2004/06 – 2024/03 [online] [cited 2024-18-7] Available at:https://www.czso.cz/documents/11292/27320905/c01R02_202403.pdf/45d66002-bdb8-4428-b47b-1e5c027809df?version=1.0)

DANIŠ, D. 2015. Komentár Daga Daniša: Aj štvrtý terorista z Paríža bol migrant. aktuality.sk [online] [cited 2020-17-7] Available at: https://www.aktuality.sk/clanok/309909/komentar-daga-danisa-aj-stvrty-terorista-z-pariza-bol-migrant/.

DNR. 2024. DNR – Reuters Institute Digital News Report 2024, Londýn: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, ISBN 978-1-914566-15-8 [online] [cited 2023-05-08] Available at: https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/digital-news-report/2024.

EBU. 2012. European Broadcasting Union: Emprowering Society. A Declaration on the Core Values of Public Service Media. Zurich: European Broadcasting Union, October 2012. [online] [cited 2020-08-04] Available at: https://www.ebu.ch/files/live/sites/ebu/files/Publications/EBU-Empowering-Society_EN.pdf.

EC EUROPA. 2017. Štatistika migrácie a migrujúceho obyvateľstva. [online] [cited 2017-07-16] Available at:http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statisticsexplained/index.php/Migration_and_migrant_populat ion_statistics/sk.

EUROSTAT. 2016. Eurostat Newsrelease Asylum in the EU members states. 44/2016, 4. march 2016. [online] [cited. 2020-05-08]. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/documents/2995521/7203832/3-04032016-AP-N.pdf/790eba01-381c-4163-bcd2-a54959b99ed6.

EUROSTAT. 2018. Statistics Explained. Migration and migrant population statistics. [online] [cited 2020-05-08] Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Migration_and_migrant_population_statistics#Migration_flows:_Immigration_to_the_EU-27_from_non-member_countries_was_2.4_million_in_2018.

EUROSTAT. 2021. Migration and migrant population statistics. [online] [cited 2024-05-08] Available at:https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Migration_and_) migrant_population_statistics).

EUROBAROMETER. 2011. Qualitative Eurobarometer, Migrant inegration, May 2011. [online] [cited 2021-02-04] Available at: https://www.ikuspegi.eus/documentos/documentos_externos/ql_5969_migrant_en.pdf.

EUROBAROMETER. 2015. Standard Eurobarometer 84, Public opinion in the European Union. [online] [cited 2020-02-04] Available at:https://data.europa.eu/euodp/en/data/dataset/S2130_85_2_STD85_ENG.

EUROBAROMETER. 2016. Standard Eurobarometer 83, Public opinion in the European Union. [online] [cited 2020-06-27] Available at: https://europa.eu/eurobarometer/surveys/detail/2099

EUROBAROMETER. 2017. Standard Eurobarometer 87, Public opinion in the European Union. [online] [cited 2024-05-08] Available at:https://europa.eu/eurobarometer/surveys/detail/2142

EUROBAROMETER. 2018. Special Eurobarometer 469, Europe Commission, Integration of immigrants in the European Union. [online] [cited 2020-02-04] Available at: https://data.europa.eu/euodp/en/data/dataset/S2169_88_2_469_ENG.

EUROBAROMETER. 2018. Standard Eurobarometer 89, Public opinion in the European Union. [online] [cited 2020-09-04] Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinionmobile/index.cfm/Survey/getSurveyDetail/surveyKy/2180.

EUROBAROMETER. 2019. Standard Eurobarometer 91, Public opinion in the European Union. [online] [cited 2020-09-04] Available at: https://ec.europa.eu.

EUROBAROMETER. 2023. Standard Eurobarometer 100, Autumn 2023. [online] [cited 2024-02-04] Available at: https://europa.eu/eurobarometer/surveys/detail/3053.

EUROBAROMETER. 2024. Public Opinion in the European Union. [online] [cited 2024-09-04] Available at: https://europa.eu/eurobarometer/screen/home)

EUROPARLAMENT. 2017. [online] [cited 2020-06-27] Available at: https://www.europarl.europa.eu/topics/sk/article/20170627STO78419/boj-proti-ilegalnej-migracii-lepsia-sprava-hranic-eu.

EUROPEAN COMISION. 2015. Questions and answers on the European Agenda on Migration. [online] [cited 2020-06-27] Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/MEMO_15_4957.

EURÓPSKA RADA. 2004. Rada Európskej únie. Prílev utečencov z Ukrajiny. [online] [cited 2020-06-27] Available at: https://www.consilium.europa.eu/sk/policies/eu-response-ukraine-invasion/refugee-inflow-from-ukraine/.

GLOBSEC. 2022. [online] [cited 2024-06-27] Available at: https://www.globsec.org/sites/default/files/2022-12/GLTrends_Ukraine_refugees_summary%20v13%20spreads.pdf).

HSP. 2016. Migrant zaútočil na matku s deťmi po tom, čo mu prekazila krádež. hlavnespravy.sk [online] [cited 2020-17-7] Available at: https://www.hlavnespravy.sk/migrant-zautocil-na-matku-s-detmi-po-tom-co-mu-prekazila-kradez/735088.

HSP. 2018. Migrant, ktorého deportáciu zastavila mladá Švédka, bičoval svoju manželku a dcéry. hlavnespravy.sk [online] [cited 2020-17-7] Available at: https://www.hlavnespravy.sk/migrant-ktoreho-deportaciu-lietadlom-zastavila-mlada-svedka-bicoval-svoju-manzelku-dcery/1488372.

IOM. 2016. Medzinárodná organizácia pre migráciu. Key Migration Terms. online] [cited 2024-17-7] https://www.iom.int/key-migration-terms.

IOM. 2024. Medzinárodná organizácia pre migráciu. [online] [cited 2024-17-7] Available at: https://www.iom.sk.

IOM SLOVAKIA. 2013. Medzinárodná organizácia pre migráciu. Aj my sme tu doma – dokumentárny film o migrácii a živote migrantov na Slovensku. youtube.com. [online] [cited 2024-6-27] Available at:https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1LA93hi7HNk.

IOM SLOVAKIA. 2022. Aj my sme tu doma. youtube.com IOM Slovakia, 2022. [online] [cited 2024-6-27] Available at:https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLgWKt_s8RCEq5WELIAMHDkbtEndg_JPLO.

KERN, Miro. 2016. Fico predbehol Merkelovú aj berlínsku políciu a ukázal na utečenca. dennikn.sk [online] [cited 2020-17-7] Available at: https://dennikn.sk/638625/fico-predbehol-merkelovu-aj-berlinsku-policiu-a-ukazal-na-utecenca/.

KTO POMÔŽE UKRAJINE. 2024. [online] [cited 2024-15-4] Available at: https://ktopomozeukrajine.sk/.

MEDIAN. 2023. Národný prieskum MML – TGI. [online] [cited 2023-05-08] Available at: https://www.median.sk/sk/mml-tgi/

MIKUŠOVIČ, Dušan. 2016. Časť z asýrskych kresťanov, ktorí prišli na Slovensko z Iraku, sa vrátila domov. 17. 5. 2016. Denník N [online] [cited 2020-03-8] Available at:
https://dennikn.sk/462831/cast-asyrskych-krestanov-ktori-prisli-slovensko-iraku-sa-vratila-domov/.

MPSVaR SR. 2018. Ministerstvo práce, sociálnych vecí a rodiny Slovenskej republiky. Stratégia pracovnej mobility cudzincov v Slovenskej republike do roku 2020 s výhľadom do roku 2030. [online] [cited 2024-05-06] Available at:https://www.employment.gov.sk/files/slovensky/uvod/informacie-cudzinci/strategia.pdf .

MÚ MV SR. 2016. Migračný úrad Ministerstva vnútra Slovenskej republiky. [online] [cited 2024-04-04] Available at: https://www.minv.sk/?statistiky-20.

MÚ MV SR. 2020. Migračný úrad Ministerstva vnútra Slovenskej republiky. [online] [cited 2024-04-04] Available at: https://www.minv.sk/?statistiky-20.

MÚ MV SR. 2024. Migračný úrad Ministerstva vnútra Slovenskej republiky. [online] [cited 2024-04-04] Available at: https://www.minv.sk/?statistiky-20.

MV SR. 2004. Ministerstvo vnútra Slvoenskej republiky. Štatistický prehľad legálnej a nelegálnej migrácie v Slovenskej republike. [online] [cit. 2020-01-7]. Available at: https://www.minv.sk/?rok-2004-2.

MV SR. 2022. Ministerstvo vnútra Slvoenskej republiky. Tlačové správy. [online] [cited 2024-04-04] Available at: https://www.minv.sk/?tlacove-spravy-6&sprava=od-zaciatku-vojenskeho-konfliktu-prislo-z-ukrajiny-na-slovensko-takmer-270-tisic-osob.

MV SR. 2022, 2023. Ministerstvo vnútra Slovenskej republiky. Štatistiky. [online] [cited 2024-04-04] Available at: https://www.minv.sk/?rok-2023-2.

MV SR. 2024. Ministerstvo vnútra Slovenskej republiky. Dočasné útočisko. [online] [cited 2024-04-04] Available at: https://www.minv.sk/?docasne-utocisko.

PPZ ÚHaCP. 2004, 2008, 2012, 2016, 2018, 2021, 2022, 2023. Prezídium Policajného zboru, Úrad hraničnej a cudzineckej polície. Štatistický prehľad legálnej a nelegálnej migrácie v Slovenskej republike. [online] [cited 2020-01-7] Available at: https://www.minv.sk/?rocenky.

PS. 2023. Vízia jednej krajiny. Kapitola Postoje k migrácii, ods. 3 [online] [cited 2024-01-7] Available at: https://progresivne.sk/wp-content/uploads/2023/04/Vizia-jednej-krajiny.pdf.

REUTERS. 2016. Aj Ježiš bol migrant, apeloval pápež na polnočnej omši. aktuality.sk, 2016, [online] [cited 2020-17-7] Available at: https://www.aktuality.sk/clanok/401983/aj-jezis-bol-migrant-apeloval-papez-na-polnocnej-omsi/.

REVIV EU. 2023. Bratislava Policy Institute (BPI) a agentúra STEM. [online] [cited 2024-10-7] Available at: https://scribd.com/document/632677789/reviveu#download.

SITA. 2018. Počet cudzincov v SR narastá, ale pomalšie ako v iných krajinách EU. sme.sk [online] [cited 2024-10-7] Available at: https://domov.sme.sk/c/20832059/medzinarodna-organizacia-pre-migraciu-migrant-utecenec-migracna-kriza.html.

SITA. 2022. Sú Slováci ochotní prijať ľudí z Ukrajiny? Štát by sa mal podľa väčšiny viac starať o vlastných občanov. 17. 9. 2022. [online] [cited 2024-11-7] Available at: https://sita.sk/su-slovaci-ochotni-prijat-ludi-z-ukrajiny-stat-by-sa-mal-podla-vacsiny-viac-starat-o-vlastnych-obcanov/.

STATENS MEDIERADS. 2013. Våldsbejakande och antidemokratiska budskap på internet. 128 p. ISBN 9788024450780 [online] [cited 2020-22-7] Available at: https://statensmedierad.se/publikationer/rapport/valdsbejakandeochantidemokratiskab udskappainternet.1830.html.

ŠNÍDL, Vladimír. 2019. Kotlebovský web Magazín1 šíri ďalší hoax. O násilníkovi z Číny napísal, že je migrant z Afganistanu. dennikn.sk [online] [cited 2020-17-7] Available at:https://dennikn.sk/1529642/kotlebovsky-web-magazin1-siri-dalsi-hoax-o-nasilnikovi-z-ciny-napisal-ze-je-migrant-z-afganistanu/.

ŠÚ SR. 2004, 2022. Štatistický úrad, Datacube. Vysťahovaní z trvalého pobytu na území SR podľa krajiny vysťahovania, veku a pohlavia. [online] [cited 2024-10-10] Available at: https://datacube.statistics.sk/?fbclid=IwAR2Qu6Np1mRz yXmZGKGcW-XnmwffRFiuHknmP6S9r7LrFUg6wPITS3Kz1IK0#!/view/sk/VBD_SLOVSTAT/om2008rs/v_om2008rs_00_00_00_sk.

ŠÚ SR. 2019. Štatistický úrad SR. Udelenie štátneho občianstva podľa predchádzajúceho štátneho občianstva, veku a pohlavia. [online] [cited 2020-01-7] Available at: http://datacube.statistics.sk/#!/view/sk/VBD_SLOVSTAT om2006rs/v_om2006rs_00_00_00_sk.

ŠÚ SR. 2020. Štatistický úrad SR. Datacube. Počet študentov a absolventov vysokých škôl. [online] [cited 2024-07-8] Available at:https://datacube.statistics.sk/#!/view/sk/vbd_sk_win2/sv3812rr/v_sv3812rr_00_00_00_sk.

ŠÚ SR. 2024. Štatistický úrad SR. Datacube. Krátkodobá migrácia za prácou do zahraničia.
[online] [cited 2024-10-10] Available at: https://datacube.statistics.sk/#!/view/sk/VBD_SK_WIN/pr3105qr/v_pr3105qr_00_00_00_sk.

TASR. 2017. Vstup do Schengenu pozitívne ovplyvnil nelegálnu migráíciu v SR. 2. 4. 2017 [online] [cited 2023-17-7] Available at: https://www.teraz.sk/slovensko/policia-vstup-do-schengenu-pozitivne/252322-clanok.html.

TASR – HSP. 2020. Policajti zadržali nelegálneho migranta afgánskeho pôvodu. hlavnespravy.sk [online] [cited 2020-17-7] Available at: https://www.hlavnespravy.sk/policajti-zadrzali-nelegalneho-migranta-afganskeho-povodu/2179828.

TOPKY.SK. 2016. Migrant (20) sa priznal k znásilneniu chlapca (10) na plavárni vo Viedni: Detaily zo súdu zarážajú. topky.sk [online] [cited 2020-17-7] Available at: https://www.topky.sk/cl/11/1543681/Migrant--20--sa-priznal-k-znasilneniu-chlapca--10--na-plavarni-vo-Viedni--Detaily-zo-sudu-zarazaju.

TOPKY.SK. 2017. Migrant (†22) sa utopil v Benátkach: Otrasné VIDEO, ľudia kričali „Nechajte ho zomrieť". topky.sk [online] [cited 2020-17-7] Available at: https://www.topky.sk/cl/11 /1604957/Migrant---22--sa-utopil-v-Benatkach--Otrasne-VIDEO--ludia-kricali--Nechajte-ho-zomriet-.

TOPKY.SK. 2019. Vyhostený migrant spôsobil chaos na milánskom letisku: Únik z lietadla priamo na dráhu. topky.sk [online] [cited 2020-17-7] Availabel at: https://www.topky.sk/cl/11/1765527/Vyhosteny-migrant-sposobil-chaos-na-milanskom-letisku--Unik-z-lietadla-priamo-na-drahu.

UDÁLOSTI, KOMENTÁŘE. 2016. Interview ČT24. *ČT 24, 12.* 1. 2016. [online] [cited 2024-17-7] Available at: https://www.ceskatelevize.cz/orady/10095426857-interview-ct24/216411058040224/.

UHNCR et FOCUS. 1998, 2001, 2005. Prieskum verejnej mienky pre UHNCR – Postoje verejnosti k utečencom v SR. Bratislava: Úrad Vysokého komisára OSN pre utečencov et

FOCUS. [online] [cited 2024-17-7] Available at: https://www.sav.sk/index.php?lang=sk&doc=services-news&source_no=20&news_no=11059.

ÚPSVaR. 2004, 2009, 2020, 2023. Úrad práce, sociálnych vecí a rodiny. [online] [cited 2024-17-7] Availabel at: https://www.upsvr.gov.sk/statistiky/zamestnavanie-cudzincov-statistiky.html?page_id=10803.

VOĽBY DO NR SR 2016. 2016. Definitívne výsledky hlasovania 2016. [online] [cited 2020-12-8] Available at: https://volby.statistics.sk/nrsr/nrsr2016/sk/data03.html.

VOĽBY 2020 DO NR SR. 2020. [online] [cited 2020-12-8] Available at: https://volby.statistics.sk/nrsr/nrsr2020/sk/index.html.

VOĽBY DO NR SR. 2023. [online] [cited 2020-12-8] Available at: https://volby.statistics.sk/nrsr/nrsr2023/sk/index.html.

VÝSKUM EURÓPSKYCH HODNÔT, 1999-2000. 1999–2000. Sociologický ústav SAV. [online] [cited 2024-12-8] Available at: https://sociologia.sav.sk/old/evs.html.

ŽITŇANSKÝ, Róbert. 2018. Jeden migrant za utečenca, môže dohoda s Tureckom fungovať? dennikn.sk. [online] [cited 2020-17-7] Available at: https://dennikn.sk/398736/jeden-migrant-za-utecenca-moze-dohoda-tureckom-fungovat/.

12 ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Doc. Mgr. SILVIA LETAVAJOVÁ, PhD.

Silvia Letavajová acts as an Associate Professor at the Institute of Culture and Tourism Management, Cultural Studies and Ethnology at the Faculty of Arts, Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra. She graduated in Ethnology and Cultural Studies at the Department of Ethnology, Faculty of Arts, Comenius University in Bratislava. Her scientific focus is mainly on the area of modern migration processes, migrant communities in Slovakia, refugees, issues of their acculturation and integration, the topic of ethnicity, mixed marriages, and majority-minority relations. In her dissertation thesis, the phenomenon of the "refugee" from the perspective of ethno-cultural processes, she dealt with Afghan refugees in Slovakia. Another area of her interest focuses on Slovak traditional culture. She is an author and co-author of several scientific monographs, such as "Zmiešané manželstvá (manželstvá s cudzincami) ako sociokultúrny fenomén" ("Mixed Marriages" (Marriages with Foreigners) as a Sociocultural Phenomenon") (Nitra, 2018), "Common Home Publication. Migration and Development in Slovakia" (Bratislava, 2019) and studies.

Mgr. ANDREA CHLEBCOVÁ HEČKOVÁ, PhD.

Andrea Chlebcová Hečková works as an Assistant Professor at the Department of Journalism, Faculty of Arts, Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra. She is a graduate of Mass Media Studies and Journalism. In her teaching and research activities she deals with the issues of the relationship between politics and media and media theory. The main focus of her research is the analysis of political independence and the quality of the public service media programme, the staging and presentation

of politics in the media (including new media), as well as the analysis of the forms of presentation of stereotypes and prejudices in the media. She is a co-author and author of the monographs "Slovak Mass Media in the 21st Century: Current Challenges" (Berlin, 2019) and "Respublika: Politická komunikácia v mediálnej spoločnosti" (Respublika: Political Communication in Media Society) (Nitra, 2015). In relation to the topic of the monograph, her publications include substantial contributions: "Úloha médií verejnej služby pri sociálnej a kultúrnej integrácii menšín" ("The Role of Public Service Media in the Social and Cultural Integration of Minorities") (Nitra, 2017), "Úskalia žurnalistickej etiky v čase internetizácie médií" ("The Pitfalls of Journalistic Ethics in the Time of the Internetization of the Media") (Nitra, 2015) and "Media negativism as a tool of political communication" (2016). In the past she worked as a journalist.

Prof. PhDr. SVETOZÁR KRNO, CSc.

Svetozár Krno is university professor, political scientist, non-fiction writer. He works at the department of Philosophy and Political Science at the Faculty of Arts, Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra. He is an author of 19 scientific monographs and university textbooks. In his scientific research he analyses social processes in the post-Soviet, Himalayan and Balkan space. He mainly uses comparative method and multidisciplinary approach. He notes the interplay of historical and cultural development, mythological, religious, philosophical and literary traditions. In most of his monographs he has dealt with political parties and party systems in the Eurasian space. The personalities of Slovak and Czech cultural and political life represent the third area of his research. The fourth area of research is social ecology, to which he has devoted several studies, but especially fourteen essayistic travelogues. He is an author and co-author of the monographs and studies, such as "Nastáva koniec dominancie tradičných politických strán?" ("Is the Dominance of Traditional Political Parties Coming to an End?") (Nitra, 2017), "Politické strany štátov Višegrádskej štvorky" ("Political Parties of the Visegrad Four Countries") (Nitra, 2007).